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ABSTRACT

This curriculum guide was developed to help students gain a broader perspective about child labor and become more familiar with the issues, controversies, and debates that surround it. Three case studies are highlighted: (1) a street child in India; (2) child soldiers in Uganda; and (3) a migrant farm worker child in the United States. Each case illustrates the complex aspects of child labor and was selected to illustrate three very different types of child labor that exist in the world. The guide begins with a unit introduction; a rationale and introduction to lessons; unit goals; connections to curriculum standards; materials needed; time required; suggested sequence of activities; subjects and suggested grade levels; and icons. The lessons are constructed to provide frameworks of study with further research and extension activities listed at the end of lesson three. Lesson 1, "Understanding Child Labor," introduces students to the complexity of child labor through a series of activities and discussions that provide students with some key concepts and basic knowledge. Lesson 2, "The Complexity of Child Labor," focuses on the complexity of child labor and encourages students to think more deeply about the issues that surround it. Lesson 3, "A Closer Look at Child Labor: Case Studies from around the World," allows students to explore issues through a case study approach. Appendixes contain an extensive list of resources to aid further study. (BT)

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A Global Investigation of Child Labor: Case Studies from India, Uganda, and the United States.

Selena Lai

Stanford Univ., CA. Stanford Program on International and Cross Cultural Education.

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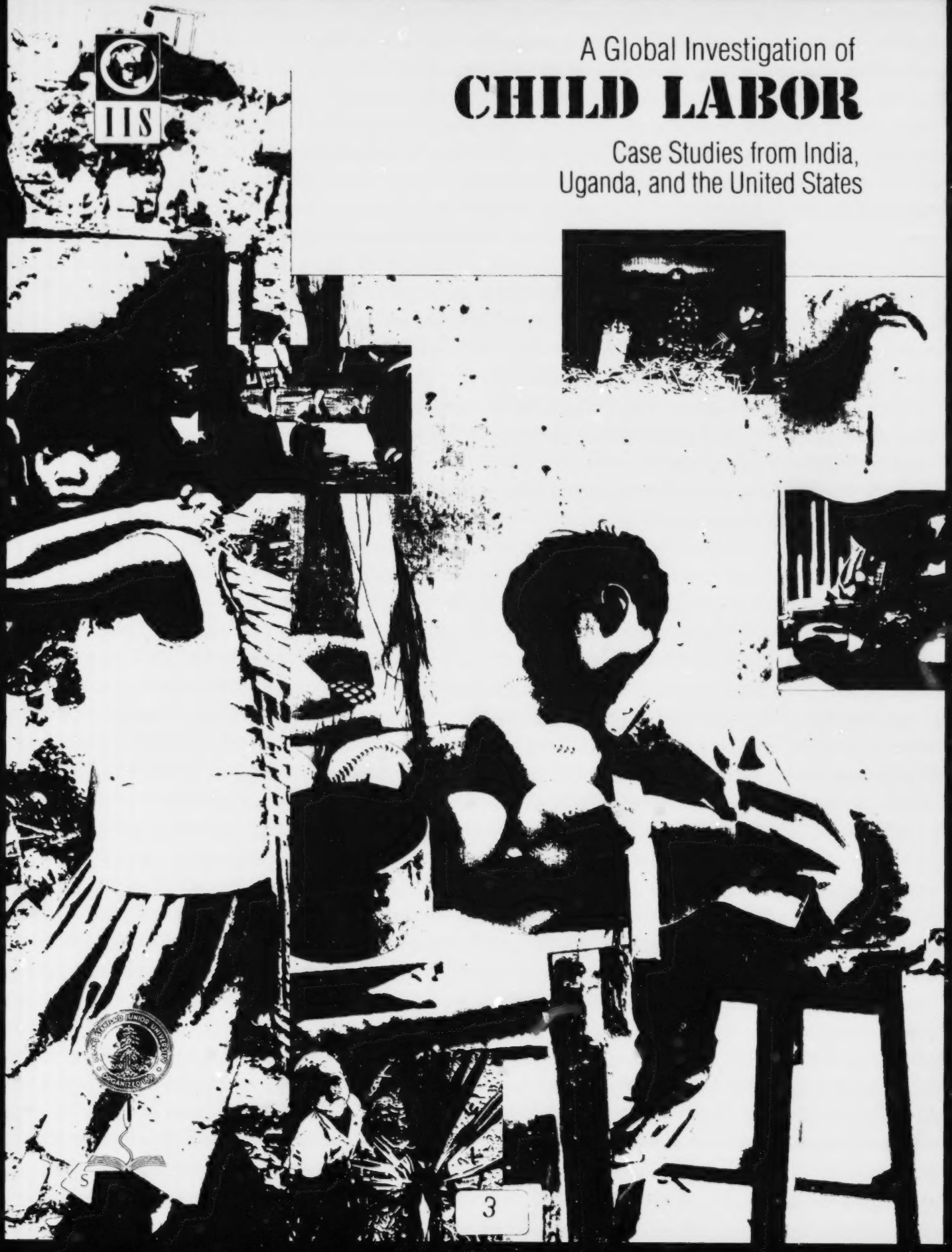

A Global Investigation of

CHILD LABOR

Case Studies from India, Uganda, and the United States

3

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A Global Investigation of Child Labor:
Case Studies from India, Uganda, and the United States

Developed by Selena Lai

Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE)

Edited by Sarah Bachman, Visiting Scholar

Asia/Pacific Research Center (A/PARC), Stanford University

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photographers who will be photographing 11 child workers around the world. By photographing individual children in their worlds—their families, communities, countries—the project hopes to see behind the "child labor" label. The nonprofit Tides Center project originated in the heart and mind of Julia Dean. More information about the project can be found at <http://www.childlaborphotoproject.org>.

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A Global Investigation of Child Labor: Case Studies from India, Uganda, and the United States

Rationale and Introduction to Lessons

Child labor can hardly be considered a recent phenomenon in the world. Children have been working for centuries. Children working in industry were a public concern in the 19th- and early 20th-centuries in Europe, North America, and Japan. At the end of the 20th-century, international concern revived toward children who were exploited, hurt, or put in danger by their work. Some attribute this heightened awareness to have started after 1979 when the United Nations declared that year to be the International Year of the Child. Others attribute it to the industrial labor unions that stepped up their anti-child labor efforts in the 1980s, in part for humanitarian reasons, and in part because of what they believed to be the unfairness of having to compete against overseas industries that employed children at cheaper labor costs. Regardless of the original impetus for the current movement against child labor, it has since gained the support of many international labor, governmental, nongovernmental, advocacy, and financial organizations for both humanitarian and economic reasons.

In the past decade or so, "child labor" has become a familiar term for many of us. Stories in the news media have exposed sweatshop labor and child labor in industrial assembly plants making products for sale to the United States and other developed countries. And yet, children who make exports are less than five percent of the official estimate of 250 million child laborers in the world, according to the International Labor Organization (ILO), and perhaps an even smaller percentage of the actual number. The majority of child laborers work in agriculture and many other jobs. Stories about solutions often focus on boycotts and proposals for import bans on products made by children. But as powerful as boycotts and bans are, they are controversial and have been opposed by many people—including working children—in developing countries. Why are these types of solutions controversial? Why would working children in developing countries oppose the solutions that are meant to protect them?

It is within this context that *A Global Investigation of Child Labor* has been developed, so that students can gain a broader perspective on child labor and become more familiar with the issues, controversies, and debates that surround it. The three case studies highlighted in this curriculum—a street child in India, child soldiers in Uganda, and a migrant farmworker child in the United States—illustrate many complex aspects of child labor. Through these case studies, students will gain insight into different types

of child labor, its causes, its consequences, and approaches to intervention. The case studies do not represent the most prevalent form of child labor in each particular country. Instead, they were chosen to illustrate three very different types of child labor that exist in the world.

As with many controversial topics of study, child labor is enormously complex. Scholars in the field may devote their entire careers to studying about a particular aspect of child labor, while a high school teacher might realistically have only a week or two to teach the topic. *A Global Investigation of Child Labor* is designed to introduce high school students to many of the key issues that have arisen in debates about child labor. As it is impossible to address *every* issue related to child labor in only three lessons, it is strongly recommended that you supplement the curriculum with further research and extension activities.

The lessons are constructed to provide frameworks of study, but the further research and extension activities listed at the end of Lesson Three can be easily added to any classroom situation. The Appendices contain a comprehensive list of additional resources to aid further study.

Lesson One, *Understanding Child Labor*, introduces students to the complexity of child labor through a series of activities and discussions that prepares students with some key concepts and basic knowledge. The lesson consists of four parts. The first part assesses students' prior knowledge of child labor. Students also investigate and discuss reasons why people work. The second part introduces students to a basic definition of child labor. They will also examine different situations in which children work so that they can begin to understand the difference between child employment and child labor, and the complexities that often surround this difference. The third part introduces students to the nine types of child labor that exist in the world, as defined by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Students will work in small groups to learn about a particular form of child labor. They will use images on transparencies to create an informative class slide show about child labor. The fourth part concludes the lesson with debriefing activities and discussions. A comprehensive Student Handout is distributed for homework reading and as preparation for the next lesson.

Lesson Two, *The Complexity of Child Labor*, focuses on the complexity of child labor and encourages students to think more deeply about the issues that surround it. In Part One, students will work cooperatively to teach a portion of the content reading using an interactive learning technique called the "jigsaw" method. In Part Two, students will remain in the same small groups to create a set of questions that will be used in a Team Quiz activity. Teams will compete against each other in a test of knowledge. Part Three concludes the lesson with debriefing discussions and independent writing assignments.

Lesson Three, *A Closer Look at Child Labor: Case Studies from Around the World*, allows students to explore issues through a case study approach. Three case studies—a street child in India, four child soldiers from Uganda, and a migrant farmworker child from the United States—provide a diversity of viewpoints from which students can gain a better understanding of child labor and how it impacts the lives of real

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children. To make this lesson as accessible as possible for students of varying abilities, the background handouts are provided in two different formats geared toward different ability levels.

Unit Goals

Each of the three lessons in this curriculum has specific learning objectives listed. These objectives have been divided into knowledge, attitude, and skill objectives for students. The following are larger goals for the curriculum unit as a whole:

- To understand different reasons why people work
- To learn the definition of "child labor" as defined by international law
- To learn about some key issues of child labor discussions
- To recognize the complexity of child labor
- To learn some of the causes and contributing factors of child labor
- To learn about different types of intervention
- To draw parallels between different case studies from around the world, and to recognize the universality of some of these issues

Connections to Curriculum Standards

A Global Investigation of Child Labor has been designed to meet certain World and United States History Standards, as defined by the National Center for History in the Schools, available online at <http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/nchs/standards>.

United States History

- Standard 3A: The student understands how the "Second Industrial Revolution" changed the nature and conditions of work. Students in grades 5–12 will be able to analyze the causes and consequences of the industrial employment of children.

World History

- Standard 2B: The student understands how increasing economic interdependence has transformed human society.
- Standard 3A: The student understands major global trends since World War II. Students in grades 5–12 will be able to assess the degree to which both human rights and democratic ideals and practices have been advanced in the world during the 20th-century. Students in grades 9–12 will be able to analyze the causes of economic imbalances and social inequalities among the world peoples and assess efforts made to close these gaps.

World History Across the Eras

- Standard 1: The student compares the economic and social importance of slavery and other forms of coerced labor in various societies from ancient times to the present.

Materials

Handouts and primary source documents have been provided with lessons to present students with a range of perspectives on the topic being studied. Permission is given to reproduce these handouts and documents for classroom use only. Each lesson provides a list of materials for that lesson.

unit introduction

Time, Suggested Sequence of Activities

A Global Investigation of Child Labor is divided into three lessons, each of which will take at least 3–4 class periods to complete. Lessons should be taught in succession to gain the maximum benefit.

Subjects and Suggested Grade Levels

This curriculum unit is recommended for use in the following high school classes:

- World History
- World Studies
- International Relations
- Social Studies
- Civics
- Economics
- United States History
- United States Government

The reading level is suitable for students in grades 9–12, Advanced Placement classes, and community college.

Icons

For easier reference the following icons are used throughout the unit:

Small-Group Activity

Transparency

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Lesson One

UNDERSTANDING CHILD LABOR

Organizing Questions

- Why do people work?
- What is child labor?
- What are some of the complex issues surrounding child labor?

Introduction

To understand child labor and the significance of learning about it requires a thorough appreciation of the complexity of the issue. This lesson introduces students to this complexity through a series of activities and discussions that prepares students with some key concepts and basic knowledge. Students will then investigate child labor at a more sophisticated level in Lessons Two and Three.

This lesson consists of four parts. The first part assesses students' prior knowledge of child labor. Students also investigate and discuss reasons why people work. The second part introduces students to a basic definition of child labor. They will also examine different situations in which children work so that they can begin to understand the difference between child employment and child labor, and the complexities that often surround this difference. The third part introduces students to the nine types of child labor that exist in the world, as defined by UNICEF. Students will work in small groups to learn about a particular form of child labor. They will use images on transparencies to create an informative class slide show about child labor. The fourth part concludes the lesson with debriefing activities and discussions. Students will be assigned reading materials for homework to prepare them for the next lesson.

Objectives

knowledge

- To learn a basic definition of the term "child labor"
- To recognize the difference between child employment and child labor
- To learn about the nine types of child labor

attitude

- To appreciate different reasons why people work
- To appreciate the complex nature of child labor

skill

- To conduct interviews and to critically analyze findings
- To work effectively in small groups

lesson one

Materials

- Transparency A, *Four Questions*
- Transparency B, *International Labor Organization (ILO) Minimum Age Convention 138 (C138)*
- Transparency C, *International Labor Organization (ILO) Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention 182 (C182)*
- Transparency D, *What Is Child Labor?*
- Teacher Information Card, *Four Questions Answer Key*
- Homework Card #1a, *Investigative Interview Instructions*
- Homework Card #1b, *Investigative Interview*
- Activity Card #1a, *Scenario A*
- Activity Card #1b, *Scenario B*
- Activity Card #1c, *Your Task*
- Activity Card #2, *Types of Child Labor*
- Activity Cards #3a–i
- Transparency Captions
- Student Handout, *An Introduction to Child Labor*
- Image Catalog, *Lesson One: Images of Child Labor* (see Appendices, pp. 137–141)
- Image Transparencies #1–#14 (packaged separately)
- UNICEF *State of the World's Children 1997* Fact Sheets (See Teacher Preparation section, Step #7 for downloading instructions.)
- Recent newspaper articles about child labor (See Teacher Preparation section, Step #8 for instructions.)
- Index cards, 3 cards per student
- Butcher paper

Time

- At least three class periods

Equipment Needed

- Overhead projector
- Computer with Internet access

Teacher Preparation

1. Copy Transparencies A–D onto transparency film.
2. Make one copy per student of Transparencies C and D.
3. Make one copy per student of Homework Card #1a. There are three identical copies of Homework Card #1a to make photocopying easier.
4. Make two copies per student of Homework Card #1b.
5. For small-group activities of 3–4 students per group, make one copy per group of the following:
   - Activity Cards #1a–c
   - Activity Card #2
   - Activity Card #3a–i
6. Make one copy of the Captions, and cut each caption out. Match the caption with its corresponding Image transparency. The 14 Image Transparencies are packaged separately. Cut each numbered image out so that there are 14 individual images.
7. Download the UNICEF *State of the World's Children 1997 Report* Fact Sheets from the UNICEF Web site, following these instructions:
   - Go to <http://www.unicef.org/sowc97>.
   - Click "Fact Sheets."
   - Download the file and print the six Fact Sheets onto transparencies.

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If you cannot find the URL as indicated, go to the UNICEF home page, <http://www.unicef.org>, and do a search for online publications related to "child protection." Be sure to search for the *1997 State of the World's Children Report*.

8. Find some recent newspaper articles about child labor (at least three different articles about three different types of child labor) and make enough copies so that students in groups of three will have enough copies of one article to read.

Homework

It is very important that this homework assignment be completed before the first day of the lesson so that it fits appropriately into the lesson and discussion. Distribute one copy of Homework Card #1a, *Investigative Interview Instructions*, and two copies of Homework Card #1b, *Investigative Interview*, to each student at least 2–3 days before you plan to begin the in-class portion of the lesson. Instruct students to complete the assignment by the first day of the lesson.

For this homework activity, students must find two people—an older person (as old as, or older than their parents) and a peer—and interview them about their early job experiences. They can record their findings directly on the homework cards (one for each interviewee) in the spaces provided. Students should have their completed homework cards ready for class discussion.

Procedure
Part One

Part One sets the context for the curriculum by assessing students' prior knowledge of child labor. Students also investigate and discuss reasons why people work.

1. Inform students that this lesson will introduce them to the topic of child labor. Show Image Transparency #1. (Image transparencies are packaged separately.) Refer to the Image Catalog in the Appendices on page 137 for more information about the image. Tell students that the image depicts child labor in agriculture. Ask students to guess what country is being shown.

2. Allow students time to share and discuss their guesses with each other before revealing the correct answer. (The country is the United States.)

3. Discuss students' answers. Use the following questions as a guide:
   - Which countries did students guess?
   - Did anyone guess the United States?
   - Do students' guesses indicate any preconceived notions about child labor and where they think it occurs?
   - What role has the media played in influencing students' perceptions of child labor and where it occurs?
   - Do students have any other comments they would like to share about this image?

4. To further assess students' prior knowledge of child labor, show Transparency A, *Four Questions*. These questions were designed to introduce some of the issues presented throughout the curriculum.

5. Consult the Teacher Information Card, *Four Questions Answer Key*, for the answers to these questions. Review the answers to these questions with the class and ask students if anything surprises them about these statistics. Again, did some of these questions and answers contradict students' own existing ideas of child labor?

6. Using the UNICEF *State of the World's Children Report 1997* Fact Sheet transparencies that you made from the downloaded file (see Teacher Preparation, Step #7), show students the one titled "Shadowy Figures." Inform students that these are some of the estimates of the number of child laborers in the world, and explain what each estimate means. As a point of reference and comparison, inform students that the current U.S. population is 284 million. What are students' reactions to this figure and comparison?

7. Point out to students that it can be useful to examine child labor in the more general context of employment. Distribute three blank index cards to each student. Ask students to consider the reasons why young people work or why they might want to work if they don't have a job. Instruct students to write down their top three reasons for working (one reason per card).

8. Next, instruct students to rank these three cards in the order of the most important reason to least important reason, numbered one through three.

9. After all responses have been recorded and ranked, ask students to share their responses, in the order of importance. Collect all of the #1 cards. Record and categorize students' responses on the overhead projector or on the chalkboard. Do the same with cards #2 and #3. Ask students to analyze the list more carefully. Engage them in a discussion based on the following questions:
   - Are there any noticeable patterns or recurring reasons why students work or why they would want to work?
   - Do most students work because they need to or because they want to?
   - What is the difference between working by necessity and working by choice?
   - How are students' wages used? Do students share their wages with family members? Do they place their wages in savings accounts or use their wages as spending money?
   - Do students think adults work for reasons different from those for children (those under 18 years of age)?
   - What types of jobs do students find desirable? Undesirable?

10. Lastly, ask students to compare their own responses to the ones they gathered in the Investigative Interview homework assignment and the stories of the children in the newspaper articles they read. Encourage students to share their findings. Discuss the following:
    - Reasons why people work, young and old
    - How reasons might change over time
    - Types of jobs that were available to children in past years compared to types of jobs available to children today
    - Attitudes toward work
    - Changes in pay rate

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Part Two

Part Two introduces students to the complexity involved in defining child labor. They will also examine different situations in which children work so that they can begin to understand the difference between child employment and child labor, and the complex issues that often surround this difference.

1. Instruct each student to thoroughly read Transparency B, *International Labor Organization (ILO) Minimum Age Convention 138 (C138).* This is considered to be one of the ILO's core pieces of legislation regarding child labor. The transparency lists some of the key provisions of the convention.

2. When students have finished reading the transparency, instruct them to write down three questions they have about C138 and its provisions.

3. Next, show Transparency C, *International Labor Organization (ILO) Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention 182 (C182).* Explain that C182 was passed in 1999, and that it is also considered to be one of the ILO's core pieces of child labor legislation. Instruct students to evaluate C182 in the same way as they did C138, and to write down three questions they have about this convention, on the same sheet of paper they used for C138.

4. Finally, instruct students to write down the following:
   - Their opinion about both conventions
   - What they think each means
   - How effectively or ineffectively each defines and regulates child labor
   - Significant similarities or differences between the two conventions
   - Whether or not they think C182 is an improvement over C138

5. When students have finished this task, collect their papers and randomly redistribute them. Also distribute to each student a copy of Transparencies B and C for reference. Each student must now offer his or her response to the questions and opinions presented on the paper he or she has received. Can he or she provide responses to any of the questions posed? Does he or she agree or disagree with the opinion shared? Instruct students to write their responses on the same paper or staple responses directly to the original.

6. Return the papers to their original authors. Now divide the class into small groups of 3–4 students each so they can share and discuss their questions, opinions, and responses. Did group members have similar questions and/or opinions about the Conventions? What were some of the key questions asked? Were their questions answered sufficiently? Were their opinions in agreement or disagreement with the original authors? Allow students time to share their questions, opinions, and responses.

7. Using the UNICEF *State of the World's Children Report 1997* Fact Sheet transparencies that you made from the downloaded file (see Teacher Preparation, Step #7), show students the one titled "Child Labour: At

What Age?" Inform students that this transparency shows some examples of different countries' legal minimum ages for various types of work. You might wish to use this as a springboard for a classroom discussion about the broad interpretation of ILO Convention 138 and its guidelines for a basic minimum age.

8. Take a class vote to see how many students found the conventions to be clear in its definitions and how many found them to be unclear. Jot down students' reasons on the chalkboard and direct them to use the information on Transparency B, *ILO Minimum Age Convention 138*, and on Transparency C, *ILO Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention 182*, to come up with a workable definition of child labor.

9. Next, show Transparency D, *What is Child Labor?*, to the class. This transparency provides a simplified definition of child labor, based on the ILO's Conventions 138 and 182. Though there are many different definitions of child labor, this will be the one used throughout this curriculum for the sake of consistency and simplicity. Reiterate that this definition has been simplified for the purposes of the lesson, but that the actual issues surrounding child labor are enormously complex, as is the definition of what is a child.

10. Explain to students that even with many international laws in place, child labor still exists because of the tremendous amount of room for interpretation and lack of proper enforcement of laws. You may wish to point out that Convention 138 specifically allows countries with insufficiently developed infrastructures and economies to limit implementation of that convention. In addition, the existence of conflicting federal and state laws within individual countries further complicates matters. Child labor is often a contentious issue because of its subjectivity to different cultures, political and economic conditions, religious and personal beliefs. What one might consider to be "honest hard work" could be defined by another as "child labor." Child labor often lies in a "gray area" between right and wrong, so it is often very difficult to determine what is child employment and what is child labor, even if laws are in place.

11. Divide the class into small groups of 3–4 students. Distribute Activity Cards #1a–c, *Scenarios A and B*, and *Your Task*, to each group, along with some blank paper for note-taking. Instruct the groups to read the scenarios and to complete the task that follows. Allow students the rest of the class period to complete the assignment.

12. Start the discussion of the activity by taking a class vote on each of the scenarios. How many students thought Scenario A should *not* have been called child labor? How many students thought Scenario B *should* have been called child labor? From this activity, it should become more apparent to students that child labor is not as simple as a legal definition. Encourage a class discussion based on the questions raised on their task cards. Each group should contribute at least one response to each question.

    - In your opinion, do you think these scenarios represent child labor or child employment? Why?

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- Consult the definition of child labor provided earlier in this lesson. What does the law say about these situations? Are they examples of child labor or child employment? What is the determining factor? Do you agree with this? Explain.
- In each scenario, there are four basic issues raised—age, safety, and economic and social/emotional considerations of work. Explain each issue in the specific context of the scenario and what your group's opinion is regarding this issue.
- Currently, federal law in the United States sets the legal minimum age for farm work to be 12 years old. Do you think this law adequately protect the rights of children who work in the fields? Explain.
- Do you think the law adequately and actively promotes the beneficial development of children? Explain.
- How would you reform this law to more adequately promote the development of children?
- In your opinion, how effective and appropriate is the law in regulating child labor and child employment practices? Explain.
- How would you enforce this law more efficiently?

Part Three

Part Three introduces students to the nine types of child labor that exist in the world, as defined by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Although there are nine types of child labor, this lesson uses images for only eight of them. The ninth type, commercial sexual exploitation, does not come with an accompanying image because of the sensitive topic. You may wish to inform the class about this prior to beginning the activity or during discussions afterwards.

1. Inform students that they will be examining images depicting child labor and will use these images to create a class slide show. An Image Catalog is provided in the Appendices (pp. 137–141) for teacher reference.

2. With students in the same small groups as in the previous activity, distribute one set of Activity Cards #3a–i, and one Image Transparency with the corresponding numbered Transparency Caption, to each group. Instruct each group to divide the activity cards so each student has a few of the cards to read. Groups should read their cards, then examine the image provided to try to identify which type of child labor is being shown. You may wish to inform students that categories may overlap, or allow them to draw this conclusion themselves. Each group is required to provide a brief narration to describe their image. In addition to identifying the type(s) of child labor being shown, groups should summarize their impressions of the image into a brief statement to accompany the narration.

3. After all groups have finished preparing, distribute Activity Card #2, *Types of Child Labor*, and instruct students to take notes for later discussions and writing assignments. Begin the slide show. Narrators should stand while speaking. Since the images will appear in no particular order, groups will have to pay close attention to the presentation so they will be ready to participate when their image is

shown. You can collect Activity Card #2 from each student for assessment.

4. Allow some time to discuss commercial sexual exploitation, since it was not part of the visual presentation.

5. After the presentation, allow time to debrief the activity before continuing on to Part Four. To do this, you may wish to engage students in a discussion about their impressions, misconceptions, feelings, opinions, etc., or make it a journal writing assignment. Some questions you may want to ask students are listed below.
   - What are students' feelings about child labor?
   - Do they feel stronger about certain types of child labor than others?
   - Do they think certain types are worse than others?
   - How might photographs and images be damaging to the children in those images?
   - How might photographs and images be misleading?

Part Four

Part Four concludes Lesson One with debriefing activities and discussion questions that complete the context-setting portion of the curriculum unit. Students will be assigned reading materials for homework to prepare them for the next lesson.

1. At this point, students have examined a number of people's reasons for working—their own, those of their peers, and those of their elders. Part Three gave students a brief glimpse of some of the reasons why a child laborer might be working. For homework, ask students to write a 1–2 page essay reflecting on all of these people's reasons for working. Did the summary of the nine types of child labor clarify or complicate their own feelings toward child employment and child labor? How?

2. Divide the class into small groups of three students each and distribute one newspaper article to each group. Write the following questions on the chalkboard and give groups time to read their articles and to discuss the questions. Discuss the following questions as a class, allowing each group time to share its article and responses.
   - What type(s) of child labor is (are) discussed in the article?
   - Why are these children working?
   - How does ILO Conventions 138 and 182 pertain to these children's work situations?
   - What were some of your reactions when you read this story?
   - What do you think would be necessary to help these children?

3. Find out what students hope to learn from this series of lessons on child labor. On butcher paper, ask students to write down questions they have about child labor that they hope will be answered in the next few days. What are students' own concerns about child labor? Encourage students to discuss these questions and concerns openly, and save the unanswered questions for later discussion after the unit is completed, or for further research.

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4. Distribute one copy of the Student Handout, *An Introduction to Child Labor*, to each student to read for homework. This piece is the main content piece for the entire unit, especially for Lesson Two. Students must be ready to use this handout for the next two lessons. If you feel that this is too much reading for one night, you might want to assign it several days in advance. You might also want to assess whether they have done the reading with a quiz or a journal writing assignment that incorporates key points from the reading.

FOUR QUESTIONS

What percentage of child labor occurs in export industries (manufacturing products to be exported to other countries)? a) 90 percent b) 50 percent c) 33 percent d) 5 percent	The International Labor Organization recently declared which of the following to be one of the "worst forms of child labor"? a) garbage picking b) child prostitution c) farm labor d) sweatshop work
Which of the following statements about child labor is true? a) It only occurs in poor, developing countries. b) It does not occur in industrialized countries. c) It occurs in both industrialized and developing countries. d) It has almost been fully eradicated due to new international labor laws.	In the United States, which type of job is least protected by federal child labor laws but remains one of the most dangerous types of jobs for children? a) agricultural work b) construction work c) factory assembly work d) child prostitution

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INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO) MINIMUM AGE CONVENTION 138 (C138)[1]

This convention was adopted by the ILO in 1973 and went into effect in 1976. It aimed to establish an international minimum age for work. These are some of the key provisions of this convention.

- The minimum age shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling and, in any case, shall not be less than 15 years.
- A member country whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed may initially specify a minimum age of 14 years.
- The minimum age for work that is likely to jeopardize the health, safety or morals of young persons is set at 18 years. (Those types of work are to be determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, if these types of organizations exist.)
- A member country whose economy and administrative facilities are insufficiently developed may initially limit the scope of application of this Convention.
- This Convention does not apply to work done by children and young persons in schools for general, vocational or technical education.
- National laws or regulations may permit the employment or work of persons 13 to 15 years of age on light work which does not jeopardize their health or development, or interfere with school.
- The provisions of the Convention are not applicable to family and small-scale operations that produce for local consumption and do not regularly employ hired workers.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO)
WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOR CONVENTION 182 (C182)[2]

This convention was adopted by the ILO in 1999 and went into effect in 2000. It specifically identifies certain types of child labor as the "worst" kinds. Below are some of the convention's key provisions.

- The term *child* shall apply to all persons under the age of 18.
- The term *the worst forms of child labor* comprises:
  a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labor, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
  b) the use, procuring, or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
  c) the use, procuring, or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
  d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children.
- The types of work referred to shall be determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, taking into consideration relevant international standards...
- Each Member shall...take effective and time-bound measures to:
  a) prevent the engagement of children in the worst forms of child labor;
  b) provide the necessary and appropriate direct assistance for the removal of children from the worst forms of child labor and for their rehabilitation and social integration;
  c) ensure access to free basic education, and, wherever possible an appropriate, vocational training, for all children removed from the worst forms of child labor;
  d) identify and reach out to children at special risk; and
  e) take account of the special situation of girls.

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WHAT IS CHILD LABOR?[3]

For the purposes of these lessons, child labor is defined as:

- Work that prevents a child from attending school, such as unlimited or unrestricted domestic work
- Work that is hazardous to the physical, mental, or emotional health and development of the child
- Work that exploits the child

The following activities are **not** included in this definition:

- Light work or chores done after school
- Apprenticeships or internships
- Helping out the family farm or business, if it does not interfere with educational opportunities

FOUR QUESTIONS ANSWER KEY

What percentage of child labor occurs in export industries (manufacturing products to be exported to other countries)?

d) 5 percent

Due to the lopsided media attention given to child labor in industrial sweatshops, most people are under the inaccurate impression that most child labor occurs in this sector. Most child workers, however, work in agriculture or in informal types of work such as domestic help.

The International Labor Organization recently declared which of the following to be one of the "worst forms of child labor"?

b) child prostitution

In 1999, the International Labor Organization adopted the Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention, which targets the elimination of slavery, debt bondage, prostitution, pornography, forced recruitment of children for use in armed conflict, use of children in drug trafficking and other illicit activities, and all other work harmful or hazardous to the health, safety, or morality of girls and boys under the age of 18.

Which of the following statements about child labor is true?

c) It occurs in both industrialized and developing countries.

It is a popular myth that child labor occurs only in poor, developing countries. In the United States alone, a 1998 analysis by Douglas Kruse at Rutgers University on illegal child labor in the United States estimated that there are 148,000 illegally employed minors in an average week. Ten percent of employed 15-year-olds are working illegally, and 1.6 percent of 16- and 17-year-olds are working illegally. In addition, an estimated 800,000 children work on farms, many illegally.

In the United States, which type of job is least protected by federal child labor laws, but remains one of the most dangerous types of jobs for children?

a) agricultural work

Three hundred children die from farm-related accidents each year, and over 23,500 children are injured. Agriculture is dangerous because of pesticide exposure, sharp tools, farm machinery, heavy lifting, long hours, exposure to the elements, etc. Federal law allows children to work as hired farm laborers at a younger age and for more hours than other employed youth in the country.

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INVESTIGATIVE INTERVIEW INSTRUCTIONS

Find and interview two people about their early work experiences. The first person must be an adult who is as old as, or older than your parent(s). The second person should be a peer of yours who is either currently working or has held a job in the past.

Ask the following questions and record your findings in the spaces provided. In addition, think of three more questions to ask and use the spaces numbered 9–11 to record your questions and responses. Use the same three questions for both interviewees.

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Ask the following questions and record your findings in the spaces provided. In addition, think of three more questions to ask and use the spaces numbered 9–11 to record your questions and responses. Use the same three questions for both interviewees.

INVESTIGATIVE INTERVIEW

Current Age of Interviewee:
Gender of Interviewee:
Current or Past Job Held by Interviewee:

1. How old were you when you got your first job?

2. What type(s) of work did you do?

3. Why did you work?

4. How much did you get paid?

5. How many hours did you work?

6. What did you do with the money you earned?

7. Do you feel that this experience was beneficial to you? How?

8. At what age do you feel it is appropriate for children to start working?

9.

10.

11.

Record additional comments in the space below or on the back of this page.

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Scenario A

In the summer of 1999, a local grocery store in Snowmass, Colorado, hired children ages 9–14 to bag groceries during the summer and during winter break. The job opportunity and experience were praised by the children, their parents, and the store owner. As one parent reported about her 11-year-old son's experience, "He loved it. He liked having his own money and he took a certain satisfaction in having a job." As a parent, she said, "There are so many boys who don't even know how to say hello. Young kids were learning about social skills, responsibility, and the camaraderie that comes from working together."

Even though the store was robbed and a store clerk assaulted several months before her son's employment there, this parent never worried for her son's safety. She said, "They caught the robbers, and I was extremely confident that the market was a safe place for my son to be. I can't protect my son from everything. Someone could bring a bomb to school, too. I won't teach my child to live his life in fear."

Background information: In the United States, federal law prohibits the employment of children under 14 years of age, unless the child is doing farm work that is approved by parents, in which case the age requirement is 12 years of age. In all other cases, children must be at least 14 years old to work and employers must abide by restrictions placed on the numbers of hours worked and whether school is in session. Colorado state law also sets the minimum age requirement to be 14 years of age, with restrictions on hours children are allowed to work.

Simons, Janet. "Labor Intense Colorado Goes to Work on Its Archaic Child Labor Laws." *Rocky Mountain News* (May 22, 2000): 3D.

Scenario B

Belinda, a 14-year-old American high school student, has worked as a migrant farm worker since she was 11 years old. Every year for the past 13 years, she has migrated with her family from Texas to Maryland to harvest squash and bell peppers at different farms. When asked about the lifestyle, she said, "The worst part about migrating is having to adjust everywhere I go even if I don't like it. Since my first year in school I have had to change schools twice a year. For me there is no such thing as a summer vacation. Once school is out we pack our things and head to Maryland to find work. We have to work every single day because we need the money for food and bills." She started working in the fields alongside her parents three years ago, at the age of 11. The working conditions are quite poor, usually with no clean water available for drinking or washing up before handling food. "It is very dangerous to work in the fields because of all the pesticides that are used to control insects. On the very first day of work this season I developed a rash all over my legs. The rash made my legs very red and itchy. But even so, I went to work the next day." But she does point out that through farm work she has learned how to be responsible and how to manage money. Despite this, she states, "No child belongs in the field and all children deserve an opportunity to enjoy their childhood."

Background Information: In the United States, federal law prohibits the employment of children under 14 years of age, unless the child is doing farm work that is approved by parents, in which case the age requirement is 12 years of age. This means that if a child is 12 years old, he or she is allowed to work in the fields with parental permission. Children less than 12 years of age who work on the fields are working illegally, but once a child turns 12, his or her employment is entirely legal according to federal guidelines.

Excerpted from a speech given at the National Child Labor Coalition Conference, Washington, D.C., September, 1996. Accessed through the UNICEF Voices of Youth Web site.
http://www.unicef.org/voy/meeting/lab/farcase1.html>.

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YOUR TASK

Read each scenario. Then, discuss and answer the following questions as a group. Be sure to specifically address *both* scenarios when answering the questions. Assign one person to take notes of the discussion and to record the answers. Be prepared to share some of your groups' views with the class. Divide the questions among group members to make sure everyone has a chance to contribute to the overall class discussion.

1. In your opinion, do you think these scenarios represent child labor or child employment? Why?
2. Consult the definition of child labor provided earlier in this lesson. What does the law say about these situations? Are they examples of child labor or child employment? What is the determining factor? Do you agree with this? Explain.
3. In each scenario, there are four basic issues raised—age, safety, and economic and social/emotional considerations of work. Explain each issue in the specific context of the scenario and what your group's opinion is regarding this issue.
4. Do you think the law adequately protects the rights of children? Explain.
5. Do you think the law adequately and actively promotes the development of children? Explain.
6. How would you reform this law to more adequately promote the development of children?
7. In your opinion, how effective and appropriate is the law in regulating child labor and employment practices? Explain.
8. How would you enforce this law more efficiently?

TYPES OF CHILD LABOR

Use the chart below to take notes of the slide show. You will need to refer to these notes for class discussion.

TYPE OF LABOR	WHAT DO THEY DO?	WHY DO THEY WORK?

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AGRICULTURAL WORK[4]

In many developing countries where agriculture plays an especially strong role in the economy, the majority of the rural population works on both family and commercial farms. Even in developed countries such as the United States, where agriculture benefits from mechanization and technology, much of the work on farms must still be done by hand, particularly during the harvest season. In general, even though the pay is extremely low, children who work on farms usually do so to help financially support the family.

mechanization—the use of machines to replace human and animal labor

Children are hired to cultivate land and crops, but most often they are hired to harvest crops. Methods of harvesting include hand-picking as well as using machetes and other sharp cutting tools.

Agricultural work is full of hazards for its adult workers, and even more so for its child workers. Some of the dangers include exposure to toxic pesticides and chemicals, injury and/or death from the use of dangerous tools and equipment, and back injury and impeded physical development from constant heavy lifting and working in stooped positions. Furthermore, constant work interferes with children's schooling since they have either no time or energy to attend school. While many countries have made provisions for long school breaks so children can help with the harvests and still attend school, many countries offer no such option.

impede—to interfere with or slow the progress of

A recent study by the International Labor Organization (ILO) estimated that in some developing countries, nearly one-third of the agricultural workforce is comprised of children. Since children have traditionally worked to help during harvests, agriculture typically has the least protective measures against child labor.

CHILD SOLDIERS

A child soldier is defined as any child under the age of 18 who directly or indirectly participates in armed conflict.[5] They are particularly common in prolonged civil wars involving paramilitary groups and militias, but are also part of government armies. Human Rights Watch estimates that there are 300,000 children currently involved in warfare, almost half of them in Africa.[6]

Children often end up as soldiers as a matter of survival—often they will fight for whomever feeds and shelters them. In Myanmar, many parents volunteer their children to fight with the rebel army because they provide clothes and two square meals a day.[7] In long-term civil wars, there are many children who have fought for both sides. Many times children are forcibly taken from their schools or homes, tortured, indoctrinated, then trained to kill. A common tactic is to drug the children to keep them in control and fearless.

indoctrinate—to imbue with a partisan point of view

Children who voluntarily join an army may do so for a variety of reasons. They may wish to avenge the deaths of family members, to seek social justice, to fight for religious beliefs or cultural identity, or even because they have lost their parents and seek a form of authority in their lives.

Child soldiers are said to be fearless; less demanding than adults; cheaper to keep because they eat less and do not ask for a salary; easier to manipulate and intimidate; less likely to run away; and easily expendable. They serve many roles in the war effort, whether it is for rebel groups or the government's own military. They are used as spies, messengers, guards, and porters of food and ammunition. Being expendable and valued little, they have been sent ahead of troops into minefields to "clear" mines or made to act as human shields for higher ranking commanders. And because of lighter, cheaper weapons like the AK-47 and M-16, children are also increasingly used in combat and sent as the first line of combat to fire on enemies. Girls are often forced into domestic and sexual service in addition to carrying out combat duties.

expendable—more easily or economically replaced than rescued, salvaged, or protected

Child soldiers risk physical damage and death, psychological scars, and acculturation to violence and deprived conditions. Common practices include forcing children to kill their own families and fellow child soldiers who disobey orders or try to escape, and forcing children to use narcotics and other drugs before sending them into battle to "instill" fearlessness. It is extremely difficult to rehabilitate these children and reintegrate them into the society they once terrorized. In many cases, these child soldiers were forced to terrorize their hometowns as a measure of demonstrating loyalty and guaranteeing that they would never return home.

acculturation—cultural modification by adapting to or borrowing traits from another culture

reintegrate—to integrate back into (society and normal life)

Rehabilitation and education are crucial to these children's survival, but the process is slow and difficult given the severity of trauma that many of these children have endured. In many cases, these children have spent so much of their childhood in the military and are so behind in school that a regular school is not always the best educational option. Nor is education always an option when conflict keeps society unstable and unsafe.

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COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION[8]

nongovernmental—not funded or run by the government

It is extremely difficult to estimate the number of children currently being exploited by the commercial sex industry, but nongovernmental organizations that work in the field approximate that at least one million children worldwide are lured or forced into the work each year. Most of these children are girls, although there are boys who are exploited as well. Although international media attention has been given mostly to the illicit trade called "sex tourism" that is common in Thailand and Brazil, sexual exploitation of children can take many different forms and is much more widespread than in just the tourist industry. Children are bought and sold into marriage, prostitution, or slavery in many countries around the world, in developing and industrialized countries alike.

bonded labor—labor arrangements where parents agree to send their children to work for employers in exchange for a loan

Sometimes children are kidnapped and sold to brothels in foreign countries. Sometimes parents take out loans and agree to pay them back with the money their daughters earn from prostitution, making it a form of bonded labor.

This form of child labor creates enormous psychological damage for the children involved and places them at great risk for contracting life-threatening venereal diseases. Incidence of physical and sexual abuse is high. Many girls are taken far away from their homes and find it difficult to escape and return home.

According to Dr. Cesar Chelala, an international medical consultant, "Commercial sexual exploitation of children is increasing worldwide. There are several reasons—increased trade across borders, poverty, unemployment, low status of girls, lack of education (including sex education) of children and their parents, inadequate legislation, lack of or poor law enforcement, and the eroticization of children by the media, a phenomenon increasingly seen in industrialized countries."[9]

Social and cultural reasons also explain why children all over the world continue to be sexually exploited. In industrialized countries, children might enter the sex trade because they are fleeing abusive homes. In Africa, children orphaned by AIDS-related deaths of their parents are more vulnerable to sexual abuse and exploitation because they lack the protection of caregivers. In South Asia, the low status of women and girls in society contributes to their sexual exploitation.

The short- and long-term impact of this type of exploitation is grave. Children are prone to physical abuse, malnutrition, and sexually transmitted diseases. Psychologically, they are likely to develop feelings of guilt, inadequacy, and depression.

DOMESTIC SERVICE[10]

In many countries around the world, it is common for poor rural families to send a son or daughter to work in the home of a wealthier urban family. Such an arrangement often appeals to poor families for many different reasons—because they cannot afford to feed their child; they need the additional income; or they wish for their children to be able to go to school (often promised by the employer). Sometimes the employer has lent the family money and allows the family to send their child to his home to help pay off the debt. This is called bonded labor. From the employers' perspective, children are often preferred over adults for domestic work because they can be paid less and are more servile than adults.

Children as young as five years old are hired to perform household chores such as cooking and serving meals, scrubbing floors, washing dishes, fetching water from the well, running errands, going to the market, etc. They also tend to the family's small children—bathing, dressing, and feeding them, walking them to school, and babysitting. Ninety percent of child domestic servants are girls.

Despite employers' promises to families, domestic servants are often paid extremely little or not at all, suffer from malnutrition, and have no time for or are not allowed to attend school. They rarely play or engage in any social activity, and are rarely allowed contact with their friends and family. These children are also at substantial risk for physical or sexual abuse at the hands of their employers. As a result of these conditions, child domestic servants commonly suffer from stunted physical and social development.

Because these children work in such isolated conditions, hidden from public view, it is extremely difficult to determine their exact numbers and to protect their rights. For this reason, some believe that child domestic workers may well be the most vulnerable and exploited of all child laborers.

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FORCED AND BONDED LABOR[11]

Many of the forms of child labor practiced around the world fall into the larger categories of "forced and bonded" labor. While formal slavery is illegal and uncommon in the world except in certain areas, many children work in situations that have been compared to slavery. Forced labor means that children have not been given a choice and are taught to accept the conditions of their lives without challenge. Children are often kidnapped and forced into such work arrangements. Bonded labor refers to the labor arrangements, where parents agree to send their children to work for employers in exchange for a loan. However, an entire lifetime of the child's labor is often not enough to pay off the debt because of crooked accounting, exorbitant interest rates, and randomly extracted fines.

The result is a work arrangement that in some ways resembles slavery because forced and bonded laborers virtually become the property of their employers, completely subservient without any alternatives.

This arrangement is most common in South Asia. In other cases, children are born into these situations, where the debt has been carried over for generations. They must spend their lives working for the same employer, never able to pay off their family's debt that would earn them freedom. Often, racial, religious, or ethnic minorities are the victims of forced and bonded labor schemes.

Children who are victims of forced and bonded labor commonly work as domestic servants, commercial sex workers, and in various other industries.

Girls' Work[12]

According to UNICEF, girls' work should be a separate category because girls often face gender discrimination in addition to the existing challenges of child labor. This makes life even more difficult for girls than for boys. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), 56 percent of children aged 10–14 working in developing countries are boys. But if the number of girls doing unregistered work as domestic help or in family industries was taken into consideration, the figures would show more female child laborers than male.

Whether it is in the fields, factories, streets, in family industries, or homes of other people, girls commonly work longer hours than boys, laboring outside the house during the day and then performing domestic duties when they return home.

In many cultures, it is common for parents to think less of denying girls an education than boys. As a result, girls are more often deprived of an education than boys. Girls are expected to work and gain useful skills rather than go to school. In other cases, girls may stay at home to do domestic work so that the mother can go out and get a job.

As with most children who work for survival, schooling is irrelevant, inaccessible, inconvenient, and secondary to earning money to support the family.

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INDUSTRIAL WORK[13]

sweatshop—a business with a pattern of violating wage, safety, and child labor regulations

For many in the industrialized world, the term "child labor" has become synonymous with the word "sweatshop." In reality, industrial employment accounts for only 2–5 percent of child labor.

There are many types of industries in which children are employed. In many countries around the world, children work in various industries like assembly, manufacturing, and mining. Many of these industries are directly related to corporations in industrialized countries, who move their manufacturing operations to countries with cheaper labor sources. There are children working in industries, even in industrialized countries like the United States.

Other industries in which children work are locally based and take advantage of abundant cheap labor. Children might work at home, in home based industries, or as subcontractors for larger manufacturing agencies. Or, children are hired alongside adults to perform the same work in a factory, but at less pay, and at less risk of protesting unfair employment practices. These children work mainly to help financially support the family, and in many cases have been bonded out to help pay a family debt. Children stuck in this type of forced or bonded labor typically have extreme difficulty in paying off the debt because of exorbitant interest rates and randomly imposed fines. Some compare their situations to slavery.

bonded labor—labor arrangement where parents agree to send their children to work for employers in exchange for a loan

The types of industries in which children are employed vary greatly from country to country. Children are hired to make bricks, weave carpets, dismantle batteries, make matchsticks, roll cigarettes, make jewelry, break bricks and rocks for road building, mine for coal and other minerals, sew clothes, and assemble toys.

Occupational hazards are numerous and extreme, regardless of the industry. Children usually work with little or no safety equipment, or ill-fitting equipment sized for adults. They are exposed to dangerous chemicals and substances that greatly jeopardize their health and development. They often work with tools and equipment that put them at great risk for burns, mutilation, injury, and even death. The work environment is often unsanitary, poorly lit, poorly ventilated, unheated in the winter, and stifling hot in the summer. Children are often locked in the factories, sometimes even chained to their work. Meal and bathroom breaks are rarely allowed.

Public awareness of child labor has grown considerably in the 1990s as a result of increased international attention on industrial factories that employ adults and children in exploitative labor. Many large companies that manufacture sports clothes and equipment, for example, have been heavily criticized for their employment practices in overseas production factories. Most infamous for industrial child labor are the carpet factories in India, Pakistan, and Nepal, but these employ only a fraction of the industrial child laborers who exist.

STREET WORK[14]

eke—to get with great difficulty

In many countries around the world, children work on the streets eking out a living for themselves and their families. Many of these children come from the slums and squatter settlements of large cities, where poverty is rampant, family situations are precarious, and schools are poorly run and overcrowded. There are at least two different populations of street children. Some street children live at home but earn money on the street to help support their families. Other children do not live at home or seldom return to their families. They live almost or completely independently.

Merchants and locals often regard the children to be nuisances and sometimes dangerous. Most children, however, are simply trying to survive. Many children work to support their school studies or to pay for their siblings' school expenses. In the Philippines, scavengers in the dumps earn a few dollars a day to buy necessities like rice and firewood for their families. In Russia and Central Asia, the number of children working on the streets has risen drastically since the mid-1990s because of the stagnant economy. In places where armed conflict has disrupted the economy and killed parents and caregivers, children are increasingly left to fend for themselves and take to the streets to earn money.

Children engaged in street work sell food, water, trinkets, and other goods; scavenge in garbage dumps for sellable items; shine shoes; wash cars; perform tricks; beg; etc., for money. These jobs may yield more money than formal work but place the children at substantial risk for harm, physically, socially, and emotionally. Many suffer from malnutrition and a host of illnesses, diseases, and injuries stemming directly from exposure to unhygienic and hazardous work conditions. In addition, these children are easy prey to the dangers of underground urban life. They may take to a life of pickpocketing, burglary, organized crime, or drug trafficking. Girls are especially at risk for commercial sexual exploitation.

nonformal—not formally controlled or regulated by the government

Like many other child workers, those who work on the streets can sometimes attend school, but school is often irrelevant, inaccessible, and secondary to survival. Nonformal education is playing a larger role in making education more accessible and relevant to these children's lives.

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WORK FOR THE FAMILY[15]

Children in the developed world may help out at home by doing chores such as washing the dishes or mowing the lawn, and they may think this qualifies as child labor. While work done for one's family may not always pose immediate harm to the child, in some cases it may have harmful long-term effects. Children in poorer, developing countries might participate in more taxing types of work at home that could be considered child labor because of the conditions, work hours, and constraints imposed by the work. Family work that prevents a child from attending school or places extreme physical demands on a child can be just as harmful as the same work done for another employer.

Children work at home doing domestic chores, are employed in agriculture, and also work in home "cottage" industries to help out the family. Home industries might include assembling products and making arts and crafts to peddle. In rural Colombia, 25 percent of 6- to 9-year-old children work, either in the home, tending the family vegetable garden, caring for animals, or helping in a grocery store or small business. Thirty-three percent of 10- to 11-year-old children work.[16]

Enforcing child labor regulations within the family is controversial and logistically difficult because the work is done informally. Children engaged in work at home have little or no legal protection, even if the work conditions are hazardous and detrimental to their health and development.

nonformal—not formally controlled or regulated by the government

As with other children who work for survival, schooling is not a high priority. Nor is it always relevant, accessible, or convenient. Different strategies to address this dilemma are nonformal education programs, stipends and incentives for families to send children to school, and skills training and vocational education.

transparency captions

These captions accompany the 14 Image Transparencies that are packaged separately. A corresponding image catalog is located in the Appendices, starting on page 137.

Image #1: United States/Surrounded by adults, a small child works on a farm.

Image #2: Brazil/A young boy works on a farm.

Image #3: Liberia/A 12-year-old child soldier.

Image #4: Nepal/A young girl washes dishes by the pond.

Image #5: Cambodia/Two girls carry water to their homes in a camp for people who have lost their homes.

Image #6: Senegal/A mother and her daughters collect and carry firewood.

Image #7: India/A young girl works as a bonded laborer in a brick kiln.

Image #8: Bolivia/A young mine worker carries a heavy load.

Image #9: Nepal/Two girls work on looms at a carpet factory in Kathmandu.

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Image #10: Philippines/A young girl picks through trash at a garbage dump, hoping to find sellable items.

Image #11: Honduras/A small boy sleeps atop a stool, where he was helping to make softballs; part of the work he does with his family in their home.

Image #12: Poland/A young child plays the accordion on the sidewalk.

Image #13: India/A young boy works with heavy tools in a small shop.

Image #14: Indonesia/A young boy shines shoes to earn money.

AN INTRODUCTION TO CHILD LABOR

A. What Do You Know About Child Labor?

In the past decade or so, the international media has helped make "child labor" a familiar household term for many of us. You may jokingly complain to your parents that washing the dishes or mowing the lawn amounts to child labor. You may recall seeing chilling images and hearing horrific stories of emaciated children chained to carpet looms or underage children locked in sweatshops, making soccer balls for export to the United States and other industrialized countries. You might believe that child labor is only a problem in poor, faraway lands where children toil away in sweatshops making products for export to the developed world. But these images and stories present only a partial view of what child labor really is and tend to limit people's perception of child labor to the misconduct of certain garment and sporting goods industries. The incidence of child labor is far greater than what has been presented by the media, the issues far more complex, and in some cases, far closer to home than one might think.

emaciated—extremely thin

sweatshop—a business with a pattern of violating wage, safety, and child labor regulations

For example, did you know that child labor has always been a part of the United States' own economic history? Did you know that it exists today not just in the poor countries of the developing world, but also in the United States and other industrialized countries? Did you know that there are children in the world today who are still working in slave-like arrangements? Did you know that the child laborers working in garment sweatshops for export industries account for less than five percent of the estimated 250 million child laborers in the world?

Child labor can hardly be considered a recent phenomenon. Children have been working for centuries. Children working in industry were a public concern in the 19th- and early 20th-centuries in Europe, North America, and Japan. At the end of the 20th-century, international concern revived toward children who were exploited, hurt, or put in danger by their work. Some attribute this heightened awareness to have started after 1979, when the United Nations declared that year to be the International Year of the Child. Others attribute it to the industrial labor unions that stepped up their anti-child labor efforts in the 1980s, in part for humanitarian reasons, and in part because of what they believed to be the unfairness of having to compete against overseas industries that employed children at cheaper labor costs. Regardless of the original impetus for the current movement against child labor, it has since gained the support of many international labor, governmental, nongovernmental, advocacy, and financial organizations for both humanitarian and economic reasons.

humanitarian—promoting human welfare and social reform

impetus—stimulation or encouragement

advocacy—supporting a cause

A Complex Issue

Child labor, like most controversial issues, is complex. To understand child labor calls for learning about as many elements as possible that make it such a complicated issue. First, due to a vast range of ethical and cultural ideas regarding children and work, there is widespread disagreement over the actual definition of "child labor." A definition exists in international law, but nations and individual communities do not always meet this international standard. Second, partly because of the disagreement over the meaning of the term "child labor," there is

ethical—involving moral approval and disapproval

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disagreement over the nature and scope of the problem posed by children working. Third, for these and other reasons, it is difficult to locate and identify child laborers. That, in turn, contributes to a fourth problem—how to gather accurate data. Fifth, disputes arise over the causes of child labor and the factors that continue its existence. All of these contribute to the sixth and perhaps most important aspect of the child labor issue: creating and implementing viable solutions and methods of intervention.

viable—capable of working, functioning, or developing adequately

B. Defining Child Labor

This section addresses the following points:

- Varying definitions of "child"
- "Labor" versus "Employment"
- An international definition of "child labor"
- This curriculum's definition of "child labor"

It would be presumptuous to assume that the definition of "child labor" is universal. International law contains more than one definition of the kind of work that children should not be allowed to do. Local law and custom contain others. Even such simple-sounding terms as "child" and "labor" or "employment" are defined differently by different societies and cultures. Variations in the way a society defines these terms inevitably play a significant role in how the issue is addressed within that society.

The concept of "child" differs greatly across societies and cultural settings. In most Western countries, chronological age determines who is a child and who is an adult. For example, in the United States, child labor laws apply to children under the age of 18. Children are barred from doing dangerous jobs such as mining until they reach that age. In other countries, children can legally work at mining and other dangerous jobs at younger ages. In almost all countries, cultural and social factors play a role as well, and whether a young person is considered a child depends more on social responsibility than age. In some countries, a 10-year-old whose work makes a major contribution to the household income is not considered a child, but rather something closer to an adult.[17] These different ways to identify a child inevitably help determine what types of work are deemed acceptable in different countries.

People from different countries and cultures disagree on what kinds of work can be called "labor" (negative) versus "employment" (positive). They also disagree on what is and is not appropriate work for children. How does one define "child labor?" Is it any work performed by children? Full-time work performed by children? Only work that is harmful to children? Only work that interferes with schooling? All paid work? All wage work? Work that exploits children? Work that violates labor laws?

There are many forms of child labor that are indisputably exploitative and harmful to children, such as child soldiering, prostitution and work in pornography, and slavery. (These are listed in the International Labor Organization's (ILO) Convention 182 as some of the "worst" forms of child labor.) Other jobs must be categorized as exploitative labor based on work conditions, hours of work, and interference with schooling.

These are some of the more objective criteria used by international organizations such as the ILO and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) to distinguish exploitative and objectionable child labor from neutral or even beneficial child employment.

The definition of "child labor" used throughout these lessons will be work that is physically, mentally, and morally hazardous, exploitative, or harmful. Child labor will also refer to work that bars children from receiving primary education.

C. Finding and Counting the Children Who Work

This section addresses the following points:

- Factors that hamper data collection on child labor
- The nature of informal work
- Girls' work
- Current ILO estimates

constitute—to form

hamper—to impede, restrain

destitute—suffering from extreme poverty

Gathering reliable numerical data on child laborers is a near impossible task due in part to conflicting notions of what constitutes "child labor." International efforts to gather useful data also have been hampered by governments denying that their countries have a problem with child labor; employers denying that they illegally hire children; destitute parents denying that they send their children to work for fear of losing desperately needed income, and other obstacles.[18]

informal—not regulated by laws

enterprise—an economic activity or business organization

Most of all, since the overwhelming majority of child laborers work in the informal sector, it is exceedingly difficult to identify and locate them. Children working in the informal sector might be hidden in homes as domestic workers or in family enterprises, scattered throughout vast plantation fields, brothels, street alleys, garbage dumps, etc. Or, children might help with a family farm or business or take care of household tasks so that the mother can take a job outside of the house. Because they work informally, they are easily overlooked in official labor surveys and miss out on legal protection and other social services.

In many situations, girls' experiences are worse than those of boys simply because they were born into cultures and societies that discriminate against females. More often, girls are employed in less visible types of work than boys and are thus denied protection, rights, and educational opportunities.

In spite of these obstacles, the ILO has been able to estimate that in the world, there are 250 million children between the ages of 5 and 14 who work, nearly half of whom work full-time. These numbers are a rough approximation based on limited statistical information obtained from about 100 countries in addition to experimental surveys carried out by the ILO's Bureau of Statistics.[19]

D. Why Do Children Work? Causes and Contributing Factors

This section addresses the following points:

- Intertwined reasons
- No universally accepted standards of what constitutes child labor

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- Education
- Globalization
- Economic conditions
- Culture and religion
- Political climate
- Population
- Inadequate infrastructure and resources
- Misdirected attempts at solutions

Most people simplistically assume that child labor is caused by poverty and that the elimination of poverty will end child labor. While on a very general level, poverty might be the most immediate reason why children are engaged in exploitative work, one must ask, "Why is the child so poor that he or she has to work?" Poverty does not exist in isolation; neither does child labor. No single condition causes poverty, or child labor. Both are inextricably intertwined. In most cases, each is a cause and an effect of the other. Culture, society, historical attitudes, overpopulation, lack of education, and economic conditions all play active roles in perpetuating this mutually reinforcing relationship. The correlation between child labor and poverty might be more accurately stated by saying that child labor is not a product of poverty; child labor is a product of the *exploitation* of poverty.

inextricable—incapable of being untied

perpetuate—to cause to last indefinitely

mutually reinforce—to make each other stronger

"One day a man told me he could get me a job in Kathmandu (Nepal). I would be trained to weave carpets and have a chance to go to school. I would be given very good meals. Once trained, I would earn a lot of money ... The factory he took me to was very big and full of working children, mostly girls. It was like a prison. We were locked in. I was ten years old but not the youngest. We worked from 5 a.m. to midnight knotting carpets. ...We were given very low-quality rice and thin watery lentils twice a day. Those were the only breaks and no one spoke of paying us." —Kumar Subba, who left his village home at the age of eight to look for work.*

A successful international campaign against child labor requires at the very least, universally accepted standards of what constitutes child labor. Without this basic point of departure, international efforts to eliminate child labor must constantly face the same barriers created by conflicting opinions. For example, if Country A is protesting against what it perceives to be child labor in Country B, but Country B does not think that its labor practices exploit children, it will be hard to agree on what types of child labor to campaign against.

Education

It is widely believed that education plays an important role in helping children build solid futures—and on a broader scale, help nations build up strong workforces, and thereby, strong economies. In general, industrialized countries with well-established social welfare systems that serve and protect the poor have the resources to provide schools with fewer barriers. However, for developing countries where poverty prevails and survival is a daily battle, providing education and making it a desirable alternative for all children is a difficult task.

compulsory—required by law

Most countries do have compulsory education laws and offer "free" primary school education. Even so, there are many barriers that stand in the way of all children receiving this basic education. Although school tuition might be free, families often must pay for school supplies and uniforms. School costs can be doubly damaging. Poor parents must stretch meager budgets to pay for supplies. But if parents take their children out of school, they may be keeping their children from an education that might have allowed them to build the skills they need to get a high paying job in the future.

"The formal education system is not designed for us, it is not accessible to us and it is not relevant to us. We reject it. This does not mean that we reject education. We demand appropriate education which will help us to improve the quality of our lives, enable us to critique our situations and empower us to change it. This education should be available to us at our convenience and in our language. It should cater to our needs and be linked to our realities."—Bhima Sangha, India, a union formed by working children.[21]

Lack of income to pay for school supplies is only one reason why a child might not be able to attend school. There are other reasons. The school might be too far away. A child might have to work during school hours or might find the education irrelevant. A child might be too exhausted from work and have no energy to attend school or study. Teachers might be absent often, poorly trained, or physically and psychologically abusive. School facilities could be lacking, with no drinking water or bathrooms, no desks and chairs, no books or blackboards, etc. In other words, beyond the cost of education, circumstances and other factors may make it extraordinarily difficult or even undesirable for these children to attend school.

"I know children who went to school. Their family paid for the fees and the uniforms and now they are educated. But you see them sitting around. Now they are useless to their families. They don't know anything about farming or trading or making money. Even though I have never been to school, I can count and quickly give the correct change. I also know how to bargain with customers and always make a profit." —Assane Diallo, a 10-year-old shoeshine boy in Senegal.[22]

From an economic standpoint, it was once widely believed that the consequences of children working instead of learning were indisputably grim; and that these children would be condemned to lifelong poverty. But newer research has shown that this is not always the case—that sometimes factors such as discrimination against certain groups (e.g., females, ethnic or religious minorities, lower castes) or the shortage of jobs that pay for more educated workers, results in little economic return from education.

caste—a division of society based on differences of wealth, inherited rank or privilege, profession, or occupation

Sacrificing education for short-term survival or lack of better options can perpetuate the cycle of poverty by eliminating future opportunities for better jobs and higher income that an education could bring. And on a broad scale, a poorly educated and unskilled working population can limit a country's overall economic development. But if there are no higher-paying jobs available for educated workers, who have also become

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"too good" for traditional vocations because of their education, then what are the concrete advantages of attending school? In these cases, are the costs of the education worthwhile if one's earning capacity is not increased as a result?

"I've admired your boy for several months. ... Nadeem is bright and ambitious. He will learn far more practical skills in six months at the loom than he would in six years of school. He will be taught by experienced craftsmen, and his pay will rise as his skills improve. Have no doubt, your son will be thankful for the opportunity you have given him, and the Lord will bless you for looking so well after your own." —Sadique, a carpet master in India, describes to a father the advantages his son will enjoy as an apprentice carpet weaver.[23]

Child Labor and Globalization

Does "globalization" cause child labor? This is one of the most controversial questions in the international debate on child labor. "Globalization" includes the increase in trade and financial flows between countries. Companies searching for cheaper production costs have increasingly set up their factories in developing countries that welcome the foreign investment. In exchange, these developing countries provide an abundance of cheap labor. In some cases, the search for lower production costs has created an incentive to exploit children, who will work for longer hours, less pay, and with fewer complaints than adults.

"I hire them first and foremost because they're economical. For what I'd pay one second-class adult weaver I can get three boys, sometimes four, who can produce first-class rugs in no time." —Sadique, a carpet master in India, who explains why he is particularly aggressive in recruiting boys aged seven to ten for his carpet factories.[24]

polarized—divided into opposite groups

As economies become increasingly integrated and interdependent, proponents and opponents of globalization are becoming more polarized in their arguments about its effects on local economies and societies. Proponents hail globalization to be the bright and inevitable future of the world economy, efficient and mutually beneficial for everyone. Opponents decry the negative impact, economic as well as social, that globalization has had and will continue to have on certain already disadvantaged sectors of the world population—in this case, poor children and their families.

Globalization is one reason why child labor emerged as a global concern in the late 20th century. In the mid-1980s, European trade unions and human rights activists started campaigns against imported carpets that had been made by bonded laborer children in India, Pakistan, and Nepal. Similar campaigns began in the United States and Australia, and spread to ready-made garments, soccer balls, *beedi* (hand-rolled) cigarettes, and other products that were made by children and exported to Western countries. Some of the campaigns targeted familiar brand names, such as Nike and Wal-Mart.

Some companies initially protested that they did not control working conditions in contracting factories or workplaces. Some companies and

some industries subsequently adopted programs to remove children from workplaces and put them in schools.[25] All the targeted companies argued that they did not want or need their products to be made by children.

Children in export industries, as mentioned before, are only a small minority of the total number of child laborers. Globalization comes up, however, in the context of the increased use of sweatshops to manufacture goods for export. Sweatshops are businesses that make products in dangerous conditions; these conditions include employment of children. Relatively light and low-skill manufacturing is the first step in the classic sequence of economic development; and export industries typically pay more and have relatively better working conditions than businesses that produce solely for the local market. Whether work in the export sector exposes workers to greater dangers than work outside the export sector, and the extent to which it exposes children to these dangers, remains a matter of dispute.[26]

As globalization changes the entire infrastructure of countries' economies and societies, the inadequacy or lack of measures designed to protect the poor and economically disadvantaged often becomes more apparent. Opponents assert that measures of increasing total wealth in the world tend to mask the widening income gap between the rich and poor. Stated more bluntly, they believe that globalization allows the rich to get richer while the poor get poorer. Recent figures published by the ILO indicate that although the number of actual child laborers is falling on a global basis, the proportion of child labor is increasing in very poor regions of Africa, Latin America, Eastern Europe, and the Caribbean.[27]

Economic Conditions

The most obvious general cause of child labor is poverty. Does increasing the economic growth rate reduce child labor? According to the World Bank, the answer is "yes," but the incidence of child labor also depends on whether the benefits of economic growth are concentrated on a small proportion of the population, or if they are spread among the entire population, including the poor.[28]

"We don't think child labor should be abolished, because in Africa and anywhere in the world, poverty reigns. So children must work, but when they do they must have good working conditions. ... A minimum age to access work must not be fixed."—Luca, 17 years old, speaking on behalf of himself and three other youths from Senegal, Africa.[29]

condone—to give tacit approval to something

Attitudes toward child labor might also correlate with a country's stage of economic development. Industrialized countries tend to be more critical of child labor while developing countries tend to be less critical. It is particularly important to note that child labor has played a part in many industrialized countries' own economic development. While the widespread employment of children is no longer condoned, it is an undeniable part of history and still exists today, although in much smaller numbers. Many developing countries regard criticism by industrialized countries to be grossly hypocritical, decrying a practice that they too are guilty of, both in the past and in the present. Some analysts even argue that the employment of children is essential to any

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country's economic development. As proof, they cite children's active participation in England's Industrial Revolution in the 18th century. The counterargument is that countries such as South Korea have achieved significant and speedy economic development with comparatively little child labor in industry.

Other Causes

social hierarchy—a classification of people based on social standing

relegate—to assign to a place of insignificance

In some societies, culture and religion might play important roles in determining people's status in the social hierarchy. In rigid caste societies where status is determined automatically by birth into a certain class, it is often people in the lowest castes that are relegated to the worst occupations. The caste system ensures that neither the adults nor children will ever be able to escape the confines of their low status. In some countries, laws prohibit discrimination on the basis of caste, class, or social standing. But adopting a new law can take less time than changing traditions, customs, and religious beliefs.

"I was born in Cali [Colombia's third largest city], but we didn't spend more than a year in one place until I was seven. Wherever we went my father could never keep his job. ... it was always down to my mother and us children to earn money to live. If we didn't bring home enough, he beat us—hard and frequently. Now he doesn't come home anymore." —Pablo, age 14, had been working for seven years in Colombia as a manual laborer when interviewed.[30]

Attitudes toward child labor tend to change according to political and economic conditions of the time. Wars offer an extreme case. More children tend to work in wartime, while children tend to go to school in peacetime (provided there are schools to attend). For example, in the United States, during World War I, severe wartime labor shortages boosted the incidence of both legal and illegal child employment. Some states even relaxed their protective child labor laws to allow more children to work.[31] In some warring countries, children are not only used to replace adults in traditional types of employment, but are also employed as soldiers in the war itself. War is also an indirect cause of child labor when it escalates poverty; destroys homes and property; renders farmland useless during combat and after the laying of land mines; orphans children; and strains social services beyond their capacity.

"They make ideal employees. Boys at this stage of development are at the peak of their dexterity and endurance, and they're wonderfully obedient—they'd work around the clock if I asked them." —Sadique, a carpet master in India, explains why he is particularly aggressive in recruiting boys aged seven to ten for his carpet factories.[32]

The percentage of population legally allowed to work is also related to the incidence of child labor. Poor households tend to have more children, and family size is known to be related to whether children work, although the relationship of child work to family size varies by culture. Larger family size has been statistically shown to be associated in many cultures not only with the higher likelihood that children will work, but also with lower school attendance and completion.[33] Usually, the pressure of having many mouths to feed forces parents to place their

children in work situations that are illegal, exploitative, and dangerous. Regardless of anti-child labor laws or established international rights, families need to feed themselves. Reducing the average family size may help increase resources that can be spent on each individual child, leading to larger benefits for society. Research on East Asia has shown that from the 1960s to the 1990s, as family sizes shrank and economies grew, more resources were available for education and health care. This, in turn, helped boost economic growth.[34]

infrastructure—the system of public works of a country, state, or region; the underlying foundation of a system

Another factor to blame is the lack of infrastructure in developing countries and the inadequacy of resources and social services to help the poor. In industrialized countries, the poor may have greater access to social welfare and medical services, but in developing countries, the poor have fewer, if any, resources on which they can depend in cases of illness or emergency. Many children work because one or both of their parents are ill and cannot work. Other children must work to pay for medical care for a sick parent, sibling, or other relative. This in itself is a bitter cycle. Some children working to help pay family medical expenses end up in types of work that endanger their own health and safety, which then increases the likelihood of incurring even more medical expenses in the future.

"If the poor think of ill health and illness, how can they work? Accidents are very common. My son lost four fingers. He was under treatment for a long time. Now he's alright." —Khalid Begum, mother of a brassware worker.[35]

Misdirected attempts at solutions have also led to the perpetuation of child labor. In unfortunate cases, laws designed to protect child laborers by outlawing its practice only ended up pushing these destitute children from jobs in the formal sector into even more exploitative, hidden work in the informal sector. For example, when a factory owner complies with child labor laws and dismisses all the underage children at the factory, the children might end up in other, even more dangerous work: in garbage dumps scavenging for sellable items, in brothels as sex workers, in the homes of abusive employers. Many of these jobs are hidden from public view, and so the children are even more vulnerable to exploitation.

"Before our livelihood is snatched away from us, our parents must be given full employment with fair wages so that they can properly look after us. Otherwise, a blanket ban [on child labor] will affect, not only us, but our families too. We do not need to struggle if our basic needs for survival—food, shelter, clothes, and education—are fulfilled. So, we demand that the government give us these rights. Until then, our right to earn a living should not be denied to us."—A Indian child who participates in the Butterflies Program of Street and Working Children.[36]

E. Intervention: Different Schools of Thought, Different Approaches to Intervention[37]

This section addresses the following points:

- Children as part of the labor force
- Children as human capital

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- Children as society's future
- Children's rights

Varying definitions of "child labor" lead to different notions about just what is problematic about "child labor." These different definitions of the problem lead to divergent ideas and policies designed to fix the problem.[38]

divergent—going in different directions from a common point

The way developing countries approach intervention today tends to draw upon successful methods used in the past by industrialized countries. Sometimes this reliance on history is narrowly focused on one aspect of the problem—such as economic development, education, or laws—and results in narrowly focused policies. Most experts agree that these are critical components of child labor reform, but they often disagree over which is most important.

Intervention in industrialized countries has included economic change; child labor laws and enforcement; new schools and improved quality of existing schools; and changed attitudes towards children and childhood. Newer approaches consider the social impact of child labor and children's rights. The following is a brief description of four theoretical approaches to child labor, along with arguments raised by critics. Bear in mind that these categories are general, and that in reality, there is overlap between the categories.

Children as Part of the Labor Force

An economic approach to child labor intervention considers the working children's role in a country's economy as a labor force. Historical fears that child labor would displace the adult workforce led to the removal of children from the labor force using minimum age and compulsory education laws. Child labor is defined as children working in violation of these laws. This approach is dominant among Western countries and is enshrined in international standards on child labor.

enshrine—to preserve or cherish as sacred

Points raised by critics:

- Education and the total exclusion of children from the workplace are not necessarily the best solutions for all children.
- Policies that focus too narrowly on child work as a labor violation, without considering all the reasons why a child is working, may be harmful to the child's welfare.
- The primary goal is to remove children from the workforce, but there is no follow-up with alternatives.

Children as Human Capital

This economic theory considers the children's role in a country's future economy. As "human capital," child workers are regarded as having the potential to become economically productive adults. A country must "invest" in children and provide them with a solid education to guarantee this outcome. On a broader scale, this approach considers the economic development of a country and how a child can potentially contribute to this process as an educated adult. Child labor is defined as work that stands in the way of children receiving that education.

Points raised by critics:

- A heavy reliance on education without consideration of quality and relevance will not necessarily guarantee a country's economic development.
- It has not been proven whether education is a cause or effect of economic development.
- Poor children may face other barriers that could still prevent them from making use of the education.
- It is ethically questionable to orient policies primarily toward economic development goals.

Children as Society's Future

In much the same way children might hold promising potential for a country's economic future, they can hold similar potential for a society's future. Child labor is defined as work that exploits, alienates, or oppresses children and marginalizes them from society. The well-being of future society directly correlates to the present and continued well-being of its children. Therefore, children should be engaged only in safe, socially acceptable work. Remedies include grass-roots efforts to help working children and their families, nonformal education, community education and mobilization, and children's unions.

marginalize—to exclude from mainstream of society or a group

grass-roots—pertaining to the basic level of society

Points raised by critics:

- The emphasis on social development over economic development is questionable.
- Sometimes the problems with society are so huge that grass-roots efforts to change society might be futile.

Children's Rights

A child-centered approach places children's welfare, rights, and development at the core of its objectives. Child labor is broadly defined as work that violates a child's rights, endangers a child's welfare, or interferes with a child's development in any way. All decisions must be made with children's interests foremost in mind—above those of adults, the economy, and society. Children are encouraged to take an active role in child labor discussions. Their rights have been permanently enshrined in the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), passed in 1989.

Points raised by critics:

- It is extremely difficult to implement policies that favor children's rights over those of adults, especially when adults are the ones in charge.
- The CRC has so many provisions relevant to child labor that to address all of them in equal fashion becomes overwhelmingly difficult to accomplish successfully.
- Translating the concepts and ideals of children's rights into concrete, easy-to-implement policies is very difficult.

F. Intervention: Who Can Make a Difference?

This section addresses the following points:

- International organizations
- National and local governments

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- Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs): international and intranational
- Community and religious organizations
- Businesses and employers
- Family
- Child workers
- Schools and students
- Creating partnerships

International Organizations: ***International Labor Organization (ILO)***

While each country has attempted to address child labor using its own national laws as guidelines, the standards and legislation set forth by international organizations attempt to unify these efforts by creating wider accountability and increasing pressure on offenders to comply. The International Labor Organization (ILO) was created in 1919 with the general goal of improving the conditions of workers—both adult and child. The ILO was created after World War I by the Treaty of Versailles and was closely connected to the League of Nations. After the United Nations was established during World War II, the ILO became the first specialized agency to be affiliated with it.[39]

convention—an agreement between countries for regulation of matters that affect all of them

ratify—to approve and sanction formally

The ILO aims to achieve its goals through the adoption and supervision of its international labor conventions and recommendations. There are currently 183 conventions and at least 191 recommendations that set universal standards on labor-related matters. There are 175 member countries that have each pledged their commitment to uphold the ILO's basic philosophies as outlined in the constitution. If and when a country ratifies an ILO convention, it agrees to two important things—it agrees to implement the convention by bringing its law and practice in conformity with the standard; and it agrees to submit itself to the ILO's supervision. Supervision is conducted in two ways. Each country must submit regular reports on how it has applied the convention. In addition, employers' and workers' organizations also submit their observations to the ILO.

"The elimination of child labor cannot be achieved without the promotion of other rights, such as the right to education, and to healthy development." —Alice Ouedraogo, ILO, February 1, 2001.[40]

There are two key ILO conventions that address labor issues related to children. Convention 138, adopted in 1973, is known as the Minimum Age Convention because it requires ratifying countries to pursue a policy aimed at the abolition of child labor, and to that end, to set and enforce a minimum age for working children. Although it included provisions for many different types of child work situations, each with different minimum age requirements, this convention uses the age of 15 as the general minimum age to work. Furthermore, it defines exploitative work according to the number of hours worked, the degree to which the work endangers a child's physical and/or emotional health, and the degree to which it interferes with schooling. This convention entered into force in 1976.

The second important ILO convention is No. 182, adopted in 1999. Convention 182 complements Convention 138. It is known as the Worst

Forms of Child Labor Convention and targets the elimination of slavery, debt bondage, prostitution, pornography, forced recruitment of children for use in armed conflict, use of children in drug trafficking and other illicit activities, and all other work harmful or hazardous to the health, safety, or morality of girls and boys under the age of 18. This convention entered into force in November, 2000.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

Another international organization that has played an important role in protecting children's rights is UNICEF. The United Nations (UN), through UNICEF, perhaps galvanized the movement to uphold children's rights by declaring 1979 to be the International Year of the Child. Prior to this watershed event, legislation regulating child employment of any kind lacked specific focus.

galvanize—to stimulate

watershed—a crucial turning point

UNICEF has adopted as a central concept children's rights, as enshrined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The CRC was adopted by the UN in 1989, and entered into international law in 1990. Up to that point, no comprehensive piece of legislation had ever been passed to establish worldwide standards on the protection and rights of children. As with all treaties, only those countries who have ratified it are bound by its obligations. The CRC is the most widely ratified human rights treaty in history; the only two countries that have not ratified it are the United States and Somalia.[41]

In May of 2000, the UN adopted two additional protocols to the CRC to address specific issues related to children. Like the conventions, these protocols become active and effective only upon ratification by a country. The Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict forbids the compulsory recruitment of children under 18 into government or nongovernment forces. This means that governments must take measures to prevent illegal recruitment, even by rebel armies. While compulsory recruitment is restricted to 18 and above, voluntary recruitment is not. Children aged 16 and over are permitted to volunteer for the armed forces, but only with informed parental consent and proof of age. No children under the age of 18 are permitted to take direct part in hostilities.

protocol—a preliminary memo often formulated and signed by diplomatic negotiators as a basis for a final convention or treaty

The Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography criminalizes these serious violations of children's rights. It stresses the value of international cooperation as a means of combating these activities because they often occur transnationally. It also seeks to increase public awareness and education campaigns to enhance the protection of children.[42]

transnationally—occurring across international borders

Together, the ILO and UNICEF have established international standards on the treatment, protection, and rights of children. International standards, however, are not a panacea to end child labor. Even among countries that have ratified these conventions, enforcement of these obligations is difficult, oftentimes ineffective, and in some cases counterproductive. Law enforcement not combined with other measures to protect children and their families can push children into even more dangerous types of work. The widespread ratification of these treaties

panacea—a cure-all

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and their success in helping to eliminate child labor, is undermined by the sheer complexity of the issue.

National and Local Governments

Nations that have ratified any of the treaties mentioned above are legally bound by them. They must create and enforce new laws aimed at the elimination of child labor in their countries. National and local governments can make a difference by promoting children's rights and welfare and pressuring other countries to do the same. Efforts like Iowa Senator Tom Harkin's proposed bill to boycott products made with child labor were instrumental in bringing the topic of child labor into public view and discussion. It is important to note, however, that boycotts have the potential to hurt the children who might lose their jobs and end up in more dangerous types of work. Harkin's bill was initially criticized for promoting punitive measures against countries that have many child laborers, without promoting programs to help the children.[43] Harkin has since supported foreign aid to promote such programs.

Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)

Some argue that treaties alone may never be an effective solution without the help of nongovernmental organizations and other supporting agencies and individuals. "NGO" is an inclusive term that encompasses all organizations made up of parties other than state governments, which includes activist groups, charitable groups, religious organizations, etc. NGOs operate on many different levels and with many different foci—some are international, some are regional, some are country-specific, some focus on general human rights issues, others focus on specific issues.

foci—plural of focus

International NGOs

Large international NGOs like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch concern themselves with general human rights issues all over the world, one of which is child labor. Others such as the International Save the Children Alliance focus their efforts on children at risk and concentrate their efforts solely on children's issues. Again, child labor is only one of the many issues they deal with. One with a specific focus is Anti-Slavery International, which focuses on the larger issue of slavery and then tackles certain types of child labor from that perspective. The Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers is an international group that focuses only on the plight of child soldiers. Free the Children, based in Canada with chapters around the world working on projects to help children, is unique because it was started by a child and is mostly run by children.

Intranational NGOs: Community and Religious Organizations

intranational—occurring within the boundaries of a country

Most countries also have their own NGOs that work to combat child labor intranationally. For example, Concerned for Working Children was created in India to serve the needs of working children in that country. It facilitated the formation of a union just for working children, so they could fight for their own rights as workers and as children.

NGOs serve an important purpose in carrying out government-mandated reforms at the grass-roots level. Oftentimes they work with the government or with larger international organizations like UNICEF, or

the ILO's International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC). They receive funding from various sources—the government, international lending agencies, charitable and religious organizations. Depending on their target group, NGOs carry out a wide array of services. They promote public awareness campaigns, create alternative educational programs, build and staff rehabilitation centers, conduct data-gathering surveys, train counselors and teachers, provide trauma counseling, run vocational skills programs, rescue children from exploitative situations, and advocate children's rights.

Some critics of NGO-initiated work assert that in cases where counseling is involved, Western-style psychiatry and religions do not work well with local cultures and belief systems. It is argued that these types of "imported" programs tend to ignore local social norms and people's own healing mechanisms, and instead impose Western-style solutions to non-Western-style problems.[44] Another pitfall of NGO counseling programs is the lack of long-term therapy after the counselors leave.

There is no doubt that NGOs alone cannot solve all of the problems connected to child labor, but they are viewed by many to be an integral part of the solution process. Their success depends heavily on the availability of resources, the cooperation of the government, the compliance of employers, the transformation of social attitudes, and a peaceful and stable environment.

Businesses and Employers

Businesses and employers can make a difference by making sure their employment practices comply with international and national standards on child labor and children's rights. The Rugmark Campaign is a privately funded initiative that identifies companies that do not use child labor by marking exported rugs with a sticker. Similar programs exist for other products made for export. However, boycotting products made by children could have an unintended harmful effect on the children. If they should be fired from their jobs at the factory, and have no alternative to work, they might be pushed into even more exploitative forms of work.

"Sitting in London writing a code of conduct for suppliers, it seems so easy to say, 'No child labour should be employed in the manufacture of our products.' The world is, however, not that simple, and it is unfortunately easier to do the expedient thing rather than the right thing. So what do we do? The worst thing would be to take production away from that factory, that town, that country, which will just increase poverty levels and put more pressure on children to work." —Lesley Roberts, Group Business Standards Advisor for Pentland Group.[45]

Family

A strong family unit can make a difference by making sure children do not engage in exploitative types of work. For domestic workers, many of the employers are actually relatives of the child.

Child Workers

Sometimes, working children can themselves organize and improve their own lives. Working children have formed "unions" or "movements" in

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Africa, Latin America, and South Asia. Articles 12 and 13 of the CRC recognize that children have the right to express their opinions and to be a part of decision-making process on issues related to their future and well-being. Iqbal Masih is an example of a child worker who made a difference by speaking out. At a very young age (one source said at four years old), he was forced to work in a local carpet factory in Pakistan in exchange for a loan to his family.[46] After many years of bonded labor, he escaped at the age of 10, and began to speak out against child labor. With the support of human rights organizations, he was able to bring his message to many countries around the world. He was murdered at the age of 12, allegedly by members of the carpet mafia who wished to silence him.[47]

In 1996, the first international conference of child laborers was held in Kundapur, India. There, child laborers from around the world expressed their opinions in a written declaration.

Demands Made by the International Movement of Working Children[48]

1. **We want recognition of our problems, our initiatives, proposals, and our process of organization.**
2. **We are against the boycott of products made by children.**
3. **We want respect and security for ourselves and the work that we do.**
4. **We want an education system whose methodology and content are adapted to our reality.**
5. **We want professional training adapted to our reality and capabilities.**
6. **We want access to good healthcare for working children.**
7. **We want to be consulted on all decisions concerning us, at local, national, or international level.**
8. **We want the root causes of our situation, primarily poverty, to be addressed and tackled.**
9. **We want more activity in rural areas so that children do not have to migrate to the cities.**
10. **We are against exploitation at work but we are for work with dignity, with hours adapted so that we have time for education and leisure.**

Schools and Students

You are already making a difference by reading about child labor. Your next step could be to get involved. You can find many ways to play a more active part in fighting against child labor. You can:

- write to government officials expressing your views;
- develop a community awareness campaign to educate the general public about child labor issues; and
- discuss issues with other peers through the UNICEF "Voices of Youth" Web site.

For other types of activities, check with your teacher first to see what your school allows you to do.

Creating Partnerships

Singular approaches to eliminating child labor may focus too narrowly on one problem or another, without addressing the whole picture. Experts

now suggest that a more effective form of intervention might be a collaboration among all parties involved—children, families, communities, NGOs, governments, and employers. Accountability and responsibility would be spread out among the parties to help ensure that programs are appropriately designed according to children's specific needs.

G. Concluding Thoughts

To understand child labor and the significance of learning about it requires a thorough comprehension of its complexity, its short- and long-term consequences for economy and society, and the inherent difficulties in determining viable solutions. How and why does child labor exist? Who are these children? How have they been affected? What options do they have? What can be done to improve their situation? How might their situation indirectly or directly affect you? How can you help?

altruism—unselfish regard for or devotion to the welfare of others

Finally, why should you care? Altruism is one reason. Some children are in danger of injury, even death, because of their work. Another reason is practical self-interest. By 2020, some 730 million people—equal to the workforce of all developed countries today—will join the world's workforce.[49] More than 90 percent of them will have grown up in developing countries.[50] If these workers grow up without an education, or with a weak education, what will they know? If they are injured by working too early, what will they be able to do when they become adults? What would their roles be in a global society and economy? How might this affect your own country's economy? The global economy?

These are some of the questions that will be addressed in upcoming lessons as you investigate the topic further.

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[34] Bulatao.
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Lesson Two

THE COMPLEXITY OF CHILD LABOR

Organizing Questions

- Why is child labor such a complex issue?
- Why does child labor exist?
- What can be done about child labor?

Introduction

In the past decade or so, "child labor" has become a familiar term for many of us. Stories in the news media have exposed sweatshop labor and child labor in industrial assembly plants making products for sale to the United States and other developed countries. And yet, children who make exports are less than five percent of the official estimate of 250 million child laborers in the world, according to the International Labor Organization, and are perhaps an even smaller percentage of the actual number. The majority works in agriculture. Stories about solutions often focus on boycotts and proposals for import bans on products made by children. But as powerful as boycotts and bans are, they are controversial and have been opposed by many people—including working children—in developing countries.

This lesson focuses on the complexity of child labor and encourages students to think more deeply about the issues that lead to children working at young ages and in harmful and hazardous jobs.

In Part One students will work cooperatively to teach a portion of the Student Handout using an interactive learning technique called the "jigsaw" method. In Part Two, students will remain in the same small groups to create a set of questions that will be used in a Team Quiz activity. Teams will compete against each other in a test of knowledge acquired in Part One. Part Three concludes the lesson with debriefing discussions and independent writing assignments.

Objectives

knowledge

- To gain a basic understanding of the issues that surround child labor
- To learn about different perspectives on child labor
- To explore and investigate different schools of thought on child labor and methods of intervention

attitude

- To appreciate the complexity of the issues that surround child labor
- To recognize the subjective nature of child labor issues

skill

- To use critical and analytical thinking skills
- To work cooperatively with other students to create a teachable lesson

Materials

- Student Handout (from Lesson One)
- Activity Card #1, *Jigsaw Lesson on Child Labor*
- Activity Card #2, *Rules for Creating Questions*
- Activity Card #3, *Score Sheet*
- Transparency, *Team Quiz Rules*
- Question Cards
- Stopwatch
- Overhead projector

Time

- At least four class periods

Teacher Preparation

These instructions are based on small-group activities for four small groups of seven students each. If you have more or fewer than 28 students in the class, adjust the preparation accordingly.

1. Make one copy of Activity Card #1, *Jigsaw Lesson on Child Labor* for each student.
2. Make four copies of Activity Card #2, *Rules for Creating Questions.*
3. Make one copy of Activity Card #3, *Score Sheet.*
4. Make one transparency of Transparency, *Team Quiz Rules.*
5. Make 20 copies of Question Cards (2 per page) for a total of 40 Question Cards.
6. Make four complete sets of Answer Cards A–D by writing the letters "A", "B", "C", and "D" on separate sheets of 8.5" x 11" paper. You can laminate these for future use.

Procedure Part One

For Part One, students will have already read the Student Handout for homework (Lesson One). This section will include an interactive reading strategy and activity to make sure students fully understand the material. The technique used in this section is called the "jigsaw" method.

1. Divide the class into four small groups, numbered one through four. Make sure each student has a copy of the handout. The reading has been divided into sections according to topic, and the reading assignment is divided among group members according to length. All students must read Sections A and G. Otherwise, assign each team to divide up the reading among its members as follows:

Section A:	All students must read this.
Sections B and C:	1 person
Section D:	3 people
Section E:	1 person
Section F:	2 people
Section G:	All students must read this.

2. Distribute a set of instructions for each group and review the instructions as a class before allowing students to proceed.

3. As students proceed to work, the teacher should be available to answer questions and guide students who are having difficulty working in small groups. Monitor students' progress and time.

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Allow 20 minutes for the Preparation and Planning, and 10 minutes for Consultation.

4. At the next class period, allow groups 25–30 minutes to teach their lessons. Afterward, ask each group to send its presenter to the front of the class to share a key point learned from each of its group members' lessons.

5. Follow the presentations with a discussion about the activity and the material learned. You can use the following questions as a guide for the discussion.
   - What elements of abusive child labor surprised you?
   - Prior to this activity/lesson, did you have many misconceptions about abusive child labor and the issues that surround it?
   - What did you learn about child labor from the quotes that appeared throughout the reading? Discuss some of them.
   - Why is abusive child labor a controversial topic? Identify some key issues.
   - Regarding reasons why children work, are there any reasons that you think are more important than others? Why?
   - What are some factors that cause or contribute to abusive child labor?
   - What approach to ending or reducing abusive child labor do you agree with most?
   - Who can effect change—and how?
   - How do you think you can be more actively involved in eliminating abusive child labor?

Part Two

Part Two is an activity to reinforce what students learned in Part One. Students will work in the same four groups or "teams" to create questions for the Team Quiz, in which they will compete against other teams to test their knowledge.

1. Inform students that they will now be participating in a Team Quiz activity to demonstrate their knowledge about abusive child labor.

2. Keep students in the same teams as in the previous activity. Instruct teams that they will each be responsible for creating 10 questions for the game, based on what they have learned about child labor. Distribute Activity Card #1 and 10 Question Cards to each team to explain the rules for creating questions. Review the rules together before proceeding, and show Lesson One's Transparency, *Four Questions*, if students need to see an example.

3. Allow students the rest of the class period to create their questions. You might suggest that they work in pairs within teams to make it a more efficient process. Be sure to collect all 10 Question Cards before they leave class.

4. Show the Transparency, *Team Quiz Rules*, to the class. Review these rules to make sure students understand how the game works.

5. Assign one student to be the timekeeper. He or she will use the stopwatch to enforce the 30-second time limit. The same student can

be the scorekeeper, using Activity Card #3, *Score Sheet*. If you would like all students to participate in the Team Quiz, you can be both timekeeper and scorekeeper.

6. Position the four teams so that they face each other. Distribute one set of Answer Cards A–D to each team. Instruct teams to pay close attention to the questions while they are being read, since they will only be read twice. They can take notes if they like. They will have 30 seconds to discuss the question as a team before they must give an answer.

7. Play the game in three rounds. The first round consists of the easy questions; the second round consists of the medium questions; and the third round consists of the difficult questions. After each round, tally up the score subtotals. Because each team has contributed its own questions to the pool, each will hopefully score an automatic 67 points by the end of the game.

8. The game is finished when all questions have been answered. Tally up the points to see which team wins.

9. You may wish to assess teams based on their scores, the quality and depth of their questions, and their ability to work cooperatively with other team members. Keep the questions for future use with other classes and for discussion ideas.

Part Three

Part Three debriefs the entire lesson through discussion and independent writing assignments.

1. By now your students should be quite familiar with some of the key issues that surround child labor discussions. Ask students to list the issues while you write them down on the overhead projector.

2. With your guidance and assistance, engage students in a discussion about debated issues. The following are a few key debates of current interest:
   - What is the best method or approach to child labor intervention?
   - Is it right for international laws to forbid children from working if the changes brought about by these laws would endanger a child further and jeopardize his family's very survival?
   - What should be the goal: to ban all children under a certain age from work, or to transform harmful and abusive work to safe and dignified work?
   - Should children be allowed to take an active role in determining their own fate, or should adults make all the decisions regarding children and work?
   - Do international organizations such as the United Nations and the ILO have the right to impose Western notions of childhood onto cultures that have different notions of childhood?
   - Some developing countries argue that all developed countries went through a period of industrialization during which children were a big part of the workforce, and so they argue that it should be okay for today's developing countries to employ children in the same way. Do you agree or disagree?

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- Are international laws effective (or can they be effective) tools for eliminating abusive child labor?
- Are Western-style solutions and intervention programs applicable, effective, and/or relevant in non-Western societies?
- For the developing countries that are fighting child labor, money is often an issue: the government has little money to pay for programs, provide free school supplies and uniforms, offer stipends so children can attend school, provide basic social services. Should it be the responsibility of industrialized countries to provide funds? Are foreign aid or inexpensive loans good long-term solutions?
- According to the CRC, which has been ratified by every country except the United States and Somalia, children have a right to not be "exploited" economically; to be consulted on policies that will affect them (if they are old enough to have a rational opinion); and to go to school. If these are "rights," then how should we think about children who must work to survive? How should we think about children who say they want to work?
- Does every working child displace an adult worker?
- Are there some kinds of work that children should be able to do?
- What if the work allowed by law in one country is different from work allowed by law in the United States?
- Should there be a universal standard?
- If there are few higher paying jobs available for educated workers once they complete school, what is the incentive for children to attend school instead of work, especially when they lose potential wages while attending school?

These are difficult questions with open-ended answers. You may wish to select only a few to discuss because of their weightiness and the depth to which each can be discussed.

3. Assign each student one of the questions discussed in class, for a homework writing assignment. Students should choose a side to argue and present their arguments in one-page position papers (one per student) stating why they support one side or another of the arguments they chose.

4. As a follow-up activity, group students together according to the question they addressed in their position papers. Instruct students to discuss their arguments with each other (if they had opposing arguments) and to create a chart that outlines key points of each side of the debate. If all students in the group shared the same position on the issue, they can create both a chart that outlines their key points and arguments as well as a chart that outlines what a solid counter-argument would be.

5. Debrief the lesson by discussing these questions and allowing students the opportunity to share their opinions. It is important that students understand that there is no right or wrong answer to many of these questions, which is why they remain controversial even among experts. Encourage students to be open-minded and tolerant of different ideas and opinions that fellow students might express.

activity card #1

JIGSAW LESSON ON CHILD LABOR

This is your chance to be a teacher. Each team will divide up the reading assignment and be responsible for learning it and then teaching it to the rest of the team. Before you teach it to your team, you will have the opportunity to meet with other members of other teams who are reading the same section as you are. You can exchange ideas, discuss the topic, and collaboratively plan a lesson together. Then, you will return to your own team and begin the lesson. It is in your team's best interest to teach the material as thoroughly as possible because your team will compete against the other teams in a test of knowledge later on.

Step 1: **SETTING UP YOUR TEAM**

The reading assignment is divided into thematic sections, lettered A–G. However, since some sections are rather short and others rather long, divide the reading among your team members as follows: (If you have more or fewer than seven people in your group, consult your teacher for instructions on how to divide up your group.)

Section A:	All students must read this.
Sections B and C:	1 person
Section D:	3 people
Section E:	1 person
Section F:	2 people
Section G:	All students must read this.

ALL TEAM MEMBERS MUST READ SECTIONS "A" AND "G."

Step 2: **PREPARATION AND PLANNING (20 minutes)**

There are three other teams doing the same thing as you are. Find another person(s) on another team who is (are) reading the same section(s) as you are. Together, you will learn the information in your section of the handout and plan how you will teach the material to the rest of your team.

a) Read the material together. You can either read silently, or you can take turns reading aloud. As you read, underline points you think are important. Take notes, and jot down points you might like to incorporate into your lesson.
b) Next, summarize the reading to each other to check for accuracy.
c) Plan how you will teach your material to the rest of your team in a short, 5–7 minute (maximum) lesson.
d) Create one or more visual aids to help explain the material. This can be a diagram, chart, drawing, etc.
e) As you plan your lesson, consider how will you engage your "students" and make them interested in what you are teaching.

Step 3: **CONSULTATION (10 minutes)**

Once you and your partner(s) have devised a teaching strategy, locate the other group that read the same section(s) as you did and has also prepared their lesson on this section. Review what each person plans to teach his or her own team, and share ideas about how to teach the material. Incorporate the best ideas from both plans into each person's presentation.

Step 4: **TEACHING**

Each person or pair of persons in the team has 5–7 minutes to teach their lesson. At the end of the lesson, be prepared to summarize your lessons and findings to the rest of the class. Choose one team member to present at least one valuable point learned from each of the team members' lessons.

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RULES FOR CREATING QUESTIONS

1. Each team must create 10 questions (2 easy, 3 medium, and 5 difficult).

2. The format of the question should be multiple choice, with four choices, lettered A–D. Be mindful of the four choices you select and what criteria you use to determine the level of difficulty. Give ample thought to your questions as well as to your answers. Will you determine the level of difficulty based on the content of the question or the subtle differences among the multiple-choice answers?

3. You may use any information from the Student Handout for your questions.

4. Your teacher will show you an example of how questions should be formatted.

SCORE SHEET

	TEAM 1	TEAM 2	TEAM 3	TEAM 4
EASY 1 point each				
MEDIUM 5 points each				
DIFFICULT 10 points each				
Total points				

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TEAM QUIZ RULES

1. Teams will answer the question using their set of Answer Cards A–D.

2. The teacher will read the entire question card, including each answer. Questions will be read twice.

3. Teams will have 30 seconds to answer the question. They must do so by selecting the answer card that corresponds to what they think is the correct answer. Do not reveal your answer until the teacher instructs you to do so.

4. When the 30 seconds are up, all of the teams will reveal their answer cards to the class at the same time, to prevent last-minute answer changes.

   Note: Attempts to change an answer after the time is up will result in an automatic point deduction, regardless of whether the initial answer was correct.

5. Correct answers earn the team points as follows:

   Easy=1 point
   Medium=5 points
   Difficult=10 points

   Incorrect answers result in negative points.

Good luck!

question cards

Team #: _____

Level of Difficulty (Easy/Medium/Difficult): _____

Question: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Answers: A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

D. _____

Correct Answer: _____

Team #: _____

Level of Difficulty (Easy/Medium/Difficult): _____

Question: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Answers: A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

D. _____

Correct Answer: _____

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Lesson Three

A Closer Look at Child Labor: Case Studies from Around the World

Organizing Questions

- How do the lives and situations of child laborers in different countries around the world differ?
- What aspects of abusive child labor are unique to specific countries and situations?

Introduction

Discussions about important issues like child labor focus so heavily on abstract concepts such as definitions, causes, and schools of thought that it becomes easy to lose sight of the real children whose lives and livelihoods are at the heart of these debates.

In this lesson, students will examine child labor at a more personal level by using real case studies of children engaged in different kinds of exploitative labor. The three case studies—a street child in India, four former child soldiers from Uganda, and a migrant farmworker child in the United States—provide a diversity of viewpoints from which students can gain a better understanding of child labor as a complex issue and how it affects the lives of real children.

The case studies do not represent the most prevalent form of child labor in each particular country. Instead, they were chosen to illustrate three very different types of child labor that exist in the world.

To make this lesson as accessible as possible for students of varying abilities, the background handouts are provided in two different formats geared toward different ability levels.

Objectives

knowledge

- To learn how child labor has shaped the lives of real children
- To learn about child labor in three countries: India, Uganda, and the United States
- To learn about strategies for ending abusive and exploitative child labor in India, Uganda, and the United States

attitude

- To understand how child labor affects children in different parts of the world
- To gain a more personal perspective about child labor

skill

- To analyze information about child labor in a specific country and context
- To assess the depth of the problem of child labor as it relates directly to the children in the case studies
- To be able to teach others about child labor
- To work cooperatively in small groups

Materials

- Overviews #1–#3
- Activity Card, Part One, *Groups A*
- Activity Card, Part One, *Groups B*
- Activity Card, Part One, *Groups C*
- Activity Card, Part Two, *All Groups: #1A–C, #2A–C, #3A–C*
- Handout #1, *Child Labor in India*
- Handout #2, *Child Labor in Uganda: A Look at Child Soldiers*
- Handout #3, *Child Labor in the United States: A Look at Migrant Farmworker Children*
- Handout #1S, *Child Labor in India* (simplified version)
- Handout #2S, *Child Labor in Uganda: A Look at Child Soldiers* (simplified version)
- Handout #3S, *Child Labor in the United States: A Look at Migrant Farmworker Children* (simplified version)
- Child's Story #1, *Sankar: Surviving at the Railway Station*
- Child's Story #2a, *Sharon, Age 13*
- Child's Story #2b, *Susan, Age 16*
- Child's Story #2c, *William, Age 10*
- Child's Story #2d, *Timothy, Age 14*
- Child's Story #3, *Working in La Fresa: José Luis Rios, Age 9*
- Presentation Checklist
- Presentation Questionnaire
- Image Catalog, *Sankar: Surviving at the Railway Station* (see Appendices)
- Image Catalog, *Working in La Fresa* (see Appendices)
- Case Study #1, Image Transparencies, *Sankar: Surviving at the Railway Station* (packaged separately)
- Case Study #3, Image Transparencies, *Working in La Fresa* (packaged separately)
- Poster board, newsprint, blank paper
- Blank Transparencies
- Markers, crayons, colored pencils
- Old magazines, newspapers
- Scissors
- Glue

Equipment Needed

- Overhead projector
- Computer (Internet access is not necessary but would be ideal)
- PowerPoint, or similar software (and the audio/visual equipment to be able to project the presentation on a screen for the whole class to see)

Time

- At least three class periods

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Teacher Preparation

In this lesson, students are divided into three large groups. You can either assemble group packets before the lesson (see Procedure, Step #2 for a list of items), or have one person from each group collect all the necessary materials for their group.

1. Make five copies each of Overviews #1–#3
2. Make three copies of each Activity Card
3. Review the reading level of handouts and select the appropriate level for your students. Make three copies each of Handouts #1–#3 or #1S–#3S.
4. Make three copies each of Child's Stories #1 and #3
5. Make one copy each of Child's Stories #2a–d
6. Make three copies of each Image Catalog
7. Make six copies of Presentation Checklist
8. Make two copies per student of Presentation Questionnaire

Procedure

1. Start the lesson by paraphrasing the information provided in the lesson introduction. Divide the class into three large groups, numbered one through three. Each group will focus on one of the following three countries: India, Uganda, and the United States. Within each large group will be three smaller groups, lettered A–C.

   All items (Handouts and Child's Stories) are numbered according to the country and large group number. Therefore, all items can be identified as follows:
   #1: India
   #2: Uganda
   #3: United States

2. Once you have created Groups #1–#3, distribute one group packet to each group. Or, if you have not assembled the packets, instruct one person from each group to gather the following materials.
   - Five copies of the corresponding numbered Overview
   - One set of Activity Cards, Part One (Groups A–C) and Part Two (All Groups)
   - Three copies of the corresponding numbered Handout
   - Three copies of the corresponding numbered Child's Story (Group #2, Uganda, has four child's stories.)
   - Image Transparencies (for Groups #1 and #3 only)
   - Corresponding Image Catalog (for Groups #1 and #3 only)
   - Presentation Checklist

3. Have each group check to make sure its packet is complete. In addition, provide students with an ample supply of blank transparencies, poster board, newsprint, or blank paper. Each group must have access to a computer.

4. With the class, review some key points about the activity before allowing them to proceed. Ask each group to refer to its Overview and follow along as you explain each step. Each group has five copies of the Overview that students can share. Inform students that the case studies do not represent the most prevalent form of child labor in each particular country. Instead, they were chosen to illustrate three very different types of child labor that exist in the world.

5. Instruct each group to divide itself into three smaller groups, A–C, and allow the class at least one full period to complete all of the tasks in Part One. They can work on unfinished tasks for homework, to be completed before proceeding to Part Two.

6. When the class is ready to begin Part Two, instruct students to collect all of their work and re-gather in their original large groups #1–#3. Inform students that they will now begin Part Two, which is a culminating project of this lesson. Each group will create a comprehensive presentation on child labor based on the information they have gathered and the tasks they have completed as Groups A–C.

   This activity is very open-ended and is designed to allow students the flexibility to determine how they want to organize their information. Since the groups are large, each group must designate a Facilitator (to facilitate proceedings and to make sure tasks are completed as efficiently as possible) and Note-Taker (to record intragroup work). Monitor the groups to make sure they stay on-task. It might be helpful to inform students that their grades will be based partly on their group's ability to work together.

8. Inform students that they have one class period to plan and create their presentation. Unfinished tasks can be completed as homework.

9. At the next class period, distribute two copies of the Presentation Questionnaire to each student. Inform them that they will be required to fill these out after each presentation. Encourage them to take notes throughout each presentation and to listen for information that will help them answer these questions.

10. Keep three copies of the Presentation Checklist for yourself so that you can assess each presentation.

11. After each group presentation, allow students 10–15 minutes to fill out their Presentation Questionnaires. During this time, the group that presented should collect everything it has prepared, write its group number and country name on each item, and submit them all to you for assessment.

12. To debrief this lesson, it is important to utilize the case studies to highlight different aspects of child labor and to recognize the uniqueness of each child's situation. At the same time, while the context of child labor varies from situation to situation, it is also important to recognize the fact that many of the issues are universal. Use the following questions as a guide for a class discussion about this lesson.
    - You have just presented cases of three very different types of child labor in three very different countries of the world. Describe the uniqueness of these children and their situations.
    - In spite of this uniqueness, there are also many universal aspects of child labor that are common to many working children's situations. What are some of them?

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- You have also been able to see how intervention operates at different levels: international, national, and local. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each of these types of intervention?
- In general, what are your thoughts on some of the domestic measures mentioned in your readings? Which ones do you feel have been effective or ineffective?
- Now that you have been able to hear several different children's perspectives, what are your thoughts on child labor and education? Should children under a certain age be banned from work entirely, or should they be allowed to combine work and school? For children who must work to help support their families, how can education be made accessible and relevant?

13. As a culminating writing assignment, have students compare and contrast their case study to one of the others presented in the lesson. This can be done as a homework assignment.

Concluding the Unit

Child labor is a controversial topic and is an enormously complex issue. It is impossible to cover every aspect of child labor in only three lessons, which is why it is important to encourage students to do further research and extension activities. This unit has been designed to introduce students to some key issues of child labor debates and discussions. There is no right or wrong answer for many of the questions raised throughout these lessons. Instead, students are encouraged to form their own opinions and draw their own conclusions based on what they have learned about child labor. The Appendices contain lists of additional resources that will guide students in further research.

Conclude this unit with any or all of the following activities and discussions.

1. At the end of Lesson One, students shared their questions and concerns about child labor by writing them down on butcher paper. Using the butcher paper as a guide, lead a discussion using the following questions:
   - Which of your questions about child labor have been answered? Explain.
   - Which of your questions about child labor have not been answered? Explain.
   - Now that you have learned more about child labor and some of the key issues of debate, do you feel like you have even more questions? Explain.
   - At the opening of Lesson One, you answered Four Questions based on common myths about child labor. Now that you have learned more about child labor, can you identify any other myths that might exist about child labor? What are some common misperceptions people have about child labor?

2. Encourage your students to develop their presentations into a video or multimedia presentation that they can then present to the school and/or community. Additional resources are provided in the Appendices for extended research opportunities.

3. Lesson Two introduced students to many of the complex issues surrounding child labor. They also had the opportunity to write a position paper about one of these issues. Expand these position papers by having class debates, grouping students together according to the topics they chose to write about.

4. Lesson Three highlighted individual working children in India, Uganda, and the United States. This lesson gave students a chance to see how child labor and various types of intervention can impact individual children's lives. Intervention is a general term used in the unit to describe various international laws, as well as local and national programs, that serve working children's needs. If your school allows you to do so, encourage students to contact a government agency or nongovernmental organization to find out more about its programs to end abusive child labor and enhance services for working children.

5. The UNICEF Web site has a section especially for children, called "Voices of Youth." Students can vote in the Rights Referendum. Students' votes will help provide background information for policy makers in that country. "Voices of Youth" also has several discussion forums where students can learn about existing programs started and run by children. They can exchange ideas with other youth around the world and create their own program. Use the provided copy of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child to supplement your extension activities.

   - UNICEF
     <http://www.unicef.org>

   - Rights Referendum
     <http://www.unicef.org/voy/meeting/rig/crc.html>

   - Discussions
     <http://www.unicef.org/voy/meeting/meethome.html>

6. Rent a video about child labor for the class to watch. Oftentimes, videos are a powerful way to bring issues "to life" for students. A *Video Resource List* is provided in the Appendices, as well as a set of accompanying *Video Discussion Questions* to help guide you in classroom discussions.

7. Also in the Appendices is a list of *Suggested Field Trips* that can enhance students' learning experiences.

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INDIA

Before you begin, make sure you have the following items:

- Five copies of Overview #1, *India*
- Three Activity Cards for Part One, *Groups A–C*
- One Activity Card for Part Two
- Three copies of the Background Handout #1 or #1S, *Child Labor in India*
- Three copies of the Child's Story #1, *Sankar: Surviving at the Railway Station*
- Six accompanying images on transparencies
- Corresponding Image Catalog, *Sankar: Surviving at the Railway Station*
- Presentation Checklist

Overview:

You are an independent panel of researchers that has been investigating child labor in India for the past year. The purpose of the investigation has been:

- to gather information about child labor in India
- to assess the depth of the problem
- to evaluate various methods of intervention
- to learn how child labor has affected a real child

This packet contains all of the information you have gathered so far on child labor in India, along with instructions that explain what you need to do to accomplish your final goal: to be able to teach others about child labor.

This activity is divided into two parts:

In Part One, you will work in three small groups, #1A–#1C, with specific research tasks to complete in preparation for a final presentation to the whole class. These tasks are intended to give you an opportunity to review and analyze your research, and to supplement it with additional information.

In Part Two, you will meet as Group #1 to discuss and plan your presentation together. Your teacher will provide you with all the necessary materials with which you will be creating your presentation.

NOTE: The term, "visual," will be used throughout the instructions to indicate any of the following: transparency, PowerPoint slide, poster, drawing, etc., i.e., a visual representation of something that can be a part of your presentation.

UGANDA

Before you begin, make sure you have the following items:

- Five copies of Overview #2, *Uganda*
- Three Activity Cards, Part One, *Groups A–C*
- One Activity Card, Part Two
- Three copies of the Background Handout #2 or #2S, *Child Labor in Uganda: A Look at Child Soldiers*
- One copy each of Child's Story #2a–d
- No Accompanying Images included. Note the "Special Instructions" on the Activity Cards, Part One for your group.
- Presentation Checklist

Overview:

You are an independent panel of researchers that has been investigating child labor in Uganda for the past year. The purpose of the investigation has been:

- to gather information about child labor in Uganda
- to assess the depth of the problem
- to evaluate various methods of intervention
- to learn how child labor has affected a real child

This packet of materials contains all of the information you have gathered so far on child labor in Uganda, along with instructions that explain what you need to do to accomplish your final goal: to be able to teach others about child labor.

This activity is divided into two parts:

In Part One, you will work in three small groups, #2A–#2C, with specific research tasks to complete in preparation for a final presentation to the whole class. These tasks are intended to give you an opportunity to review and analyze your research, and to supplement it with additional information. Note the "Special Instructions" on the Activity Cards for your group.

In Part Two, you will meet as Group #2 to discuss and plan your presentation together. Your teacher will provide you with all the necessary materials with which you will be creating your presentation.

NOTE: The term, "visual," will be used throughout the instructions to indicate any of the following: transparency, PowerPoint slide, poster, drawing, etc., i.e., a visual representation of something that can be a part of your presentation.

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UNITED STATES

Before you begin, make sure you have the following items:

- Five copies of Overview #1, *United States*
- Three Activity Cards for Part One, *Groups A–C*
- One Activity Card for Part Two
- Three copies of the Background Handout #1 or #1S, *Child Labor in the United States: A Look at Migrant Farmworker Children*
- Three copies of Child's Story #3, *Working in La Fresa*
- Six accompanying images on transparencies
- Corresponding Image Catalog, *Working in La Fresa*
- Presentation Checklist

Overview:

You are an independent panel of researchers that has been investigating child labor in the United States for the past year. The purpose of the investigation has been:

- to gather information about child labor in the United States
- to assess the depth of the problem
- to evaluate various methods of intervention
- to learn how child labor has affected a real child

This packet of materials contains all of the information you have gathered so far on child labor in the United States, along with instructions that explain what you need to do to accomplish your final goal: to be able to teach others about child labor.

This activity is divided into two parts:

In Part One, you will work in three small groups, #3A–#3C, with specific research tasks to complete in preparation for a final presentation to the whole class. These tasks are intended to give you an opportunity to review and analyze your research, and to supplement it with additional information.

In Part Two, you will meet as Group #3 to discuss and plan your presentation together. Your teacher will provide you with all the necessary materials with which you will be creating your presentation.

NOTE: The term, "visual," will be used throughout the instructions to indicate any of the following: transparency, PowerPoint slide, poster, drawing, etc., i.e., a visual representation of something that can be a part of your presentation.

GROUP A

These are your specific research tasks to complete in preparation for your final presentation. Your group must contribute a minimum of five visuals for your presentation. Below are your tasks. Most of the tasks will require at least one visual. Many tasks will require many more than one visual. Just make sure you have at least five.

1. Read the entire case study and study the images provided, if there are any.

2. Using the Internet and/or other resources in your classroom and school library, gather the following supporting information for your large group's presentation:
   - Map of the country that shows its location within the larger continent
   - Map of the country that shows major cities, especially those mentioned in the case study
   - Key data about the country: population
     life expectancy
     per capita GDP
     population below the poverty line
     literacy rate

   This information can be found on the *CIA World Factbook* Web site: (click on your country)
   <http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/indexgeo.html>.

   Explain why each type of information might be relevant to discussions about child labor.

3. (Group #2 see special instructions below.) Locate three more images in print or on the Internet that might be appropriate to include as other examples of child labor that exist in that country. Check to see if there are any images from Lesson One that might be relevant.

   A good online source for photographs is the International Labor Organization's Web site (searchable by keywords):
   <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/inf/album/index.htm>.

   Special Instructions Group #2 (Uganda): Your case study has four Child's Stories #2a–d. Select one of the four (or however many remain if Groups #2B and #2C have already chosen), and draw your own series of six pictures to tell the child's story from beginning to end. The pictures should depict the type of work the child does, the nature of the work, the outcome of the work, and where the child is today.

4. Decide how you think this child feels about his or her work, based on what you know about the child, what you know about his or her work, and what you know about child labor in that country and in general. Then, imagine that you are this child, and write a letter to your employer that explains how you feel about your work. What do you think about your job? Your situation? Your employer? Your future? Do you earn money? If so, do you feel it is enough? If not, how does this affect you? Does the work benefit you in any way? Does the work place you in any danger at all?

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GROUP B

These are your specific research tasks to complete in preparation for your final presentation. Your group must contribute a minimum of five visuals for your presentation. Below are your tasks. Most of the tasks will require at least one visual. Many tasks will require many more than one visual. Just make sure you have at least five.

1. Look through the entire case study and study the images provided, if there are any, to get a basic idea of the focus of your group's activities.

2. Carefully read through the handout section titled "The Nature of Child Labor in (your group's country)."

3. Create an outline of this section, highlighting some key points about child labor in this particular country. What do you think are some important facts that everyone should know? What are the causes? Why does it exist? What are some current, unresolved issues? What is unique about child labor in this particular country?

4. Create a list of all of the acronyms that appear in the handout.

5. (Group #2 see special instructions below.) Make a collage using words and/or images that depict the Child's Story and the state of child labor in his or her country. You can use the images provided in your case study in addition to anything else you can find in books, magazines, newspapers, the Internet, and other sources.

   Special Instructions Group #2 (Uganda): Your case study has four Child's Stories #2a–d. Select one of the four (or however many remain if Groups #2A and #2C have already chosen), and make your collage using words and/or images that depict the child's story and the state of child labor in his or her country. You can use images that you create in addition to anything else you can find in books, magazines, newspapers, the Internet, and other sources.

GROUP C

These are your specific research tasks to complete in preparation for your final presentation. Your group must contribute a minimum of five visuals for your presentation. Below are your tasks. Most of the tasks will require at least one visual. Many tasks will require many more than one visual. Just make sure you have at least five.

1. Read the entire case study and study the images provided, if there are any.

2. Carefully read through the handout starting from the section titled "International Standards and Conventions" to the end of the handout.

3. Create a timeline of key legislation and events that highlights different types of intervention that have been tried over the years and to the present.

4. (Group #2 see special instructions below.) Carefully read through the Child's Story and determine how his or her situation has been impacted by various methods of intervention. Do you have any suggestions for other types of intervention? What are they? Do you feel that intervention has been beneficial or harmful to this particular child? Write down your thoughts because you will need to rely on this information for Part Two of this activity.

   Special Instructions Group #2 (Uganda): Your case study has four Child's Stories #2a–d. Select one of the four (or however many remain if Groups #2A and #2B have already chosen), and proceed with Tasks #4 and #5.

5. Imagine that you are working for a non-governmental organization in that country, serving this child's home community. Select an issue related to this child's situation and design an innovative community program to address the issue. Create a name for your program and a mission statement (one sentence that describes your goal and purpose).

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ALL GROUPS: #1A–C, #2A–C, #3A–C

1. Return to your large groups and share your work with each other. Your next task is to consolidate all of your information and create a comprehensive presentation. The Child's Story, accompanying images, and visuals you created should be the central focus of the presentation.

2. Each small group, A–C, must contribute at least five visuals to the final presentation. Use the Presentation Checklist to make sure you have included all of your work.

3. Each large group must choose one person to be its Facilitator, who will keep the group on task and efficient.

4. Each large group must also choose one person to be the Note Taker, to write down all suggestions and strategies, and to be in charge of compiling all of the materials into a cohesive presentation.

5. Discuss and decide how your group will accomplish the following in your presentation:
   - Present the Child's Story so that the class will get an accurate picture of who this child is and what his or her work situation is like. (Group #2 will present three Child's Stories.)
   - Present the Child's Story and accompanying images so that the significance of each image is appropriately explained.
   - Present each group's work.
   - Organize the information so that the presentation is cohesive and comprehensive.
   - Make your entire presentation visually and aesthetically pleasing.

6. Create a 5-minute skit for the community to promote greater awareness about child labor issues, using the child whose story you read as the central figure. What would this child like the community to know about his or her work? Each person in your group must be given a role in the skit. Perform the skit for the class as part of your presentation.

handout #1

CHILD LABOR IN INDIA

child labor—work that is physically, mentally, and morally hazardous, exploitative, or harmful to children under 18; and work that bars children from receiving primary education

proactive—acting in anticipation of future problems, needs, or changes

ratify—to approve and sanction formally

perpetuate—to cause to last indefinitely

promulgate—to put into action

nongovernmental—not funded or run by the government

grass-roots—pertaining to the basic level of society

socioeconomic—of, relating to, or involving a combination of social and economic factors

economic reform—a government-instituted change in the structure and workings of the economy

privatize—to decrease government ownership and control of the economy while increasing the use of market forces and private ownership

market forces—a market economy is one that is characterized by freely determined prices and the free exchange of goods and services in markets. Examples of market forces are supply, demand, inflation, etc.

tariffs—a duty or tax placed on imported or exported goods

Abusive child labor has been a part of Indian life for centuries. The national government claims to have taken a proactive approach to curb abusive child labor by creating a National Child Labor Committee, by joining the International Labor Organization's International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC), by ratifying the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child, and by adopting anti-child labor programs, which are implemented by government ministries that work with children, education, and social welfare.

Not everyone agrees that the government's approach has been effective. Abusive child labor continues to be a serious problem in some industries and in specific towns, villages, and regions. Abusive child labor is perpetuated by powerful social, cultural, and economic factors. Many anti-child labor activists argue that, although passing laws and promulgating regulations are important, they are not sufficient to end the worst forms of child labor. Of what use are laws and regulations if they are not enforced? Should the government be taking other actions to help children in harmful or dangerous work? These are among the many questions being asked by nongovernmental organizations (NGO) and grass-roots organizations which have started their own programs to rescue children from danger and help them and their families.

The Nature of Child Labor in India

Causes of child labor in India are complex. They are linked to the socio-economic development of the area as well as to social attitudes and traditions. Although child labor existed in India for centuries, it became more of an international and national concern after the start of economic reforms. Starting in July, 1991, India began to privatize its economy. Economic growth, however, lagged behind population growth. That and other trends led to less money being available for education, health care, and other needs of a rapidly growing population.

Before 1991, India protected its industries from the full force of global competition. Imports were subjected to high tariffs, making them more expensive than products produced locally. The theory behind the tariffs was that Indian manufacturers would be able to build strong companies if they did not have to compete with foreign companies. The protected Indian companies would then provide more jobs—and more stable jobs—for the poor and job-hungry nation.

Advocates of economic reform argued that the goods made by protected Indian manufacturers were shoddy and too expensive, robbing Indian consumers of better quality products and hampering the growth of the nation's economy. This, in turn, reduced the number of jobs available. Privatization would force Indian businesses to compete in the global marketplace. In practice, this meant that tariffs on imported goods were reduced on many products.

The lower tariffs reduced the price of everything from soap to motorbikes. Locally made goods had to be at least as good as the imports, or the Indian manufacturers would not be able to sell them.

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In addition, India took advantage of increasing demand in the global marketplace for products it could manufacture and export more cheaply than other countries, including handmade carpets, and sporting goods such as soccer balls.

Although India's economy grew faster after 1991, the benefits of the faster growth were not evenly shared. Critics claim that India's economic reforms and new global trade rules encouraged companies in developed countries to shop around the world for countries that could make products for less money, which often resulted in work conditions that were less safe. Specifically, some multinational corporations have been accused of trying to save money by hiring children for less than they would pay adults. The companies who have been accused of employing children include well-known brands, as well as less well-known manufacturers of handmade carpets and *beedis* (hand-rolled cigarettes).

The news media played a role in popularizing the impression that India's exporters were using children to make products that could be sold internationally at low cost. India's low-skill industries in the "informal" sector of the economy, such as small-scale factories making handmade carpets, were shown on television and written about in newspapers and magazines. Many of these stories showed children working as bonded laborers. Other children were found working in dangerous or harmful conditions making *beedis*, quarrying rock, working as prostitutes, or in homes as maids.

informal—not regulated or protected by law

Were these children working simply to help their families survive? Or were they being exploited? Was the government and business overlooking the exploitation of children to guarantee that Indian products sent abroad for sale would be cheaper than products from other countries where children were not employed? In the 1980s and 1990s, Indian government officials, anti-child labor activists, trade unions, and others disagreed over the answers to these questions.

Other working children, who did not make products for export, did not get as much attention in the international press. And yet, they were the majority of India's children working in exploitative jobs. Worldwide, the majority of working children do not work for pay, but are unpaid family labor.[1] In many cases, children work at home taking care of household tasks or helping with the family farm or business so their mothers can take a job outside the house.

Poverty in India

India is a poor country. Forty percent of the urban population and 50 percent of the rural population live below the poverty level.[2] Most children work to earn money for survival. Many work instead of attending school.[3] For many of these children, the education system is lackluster, insufficient, and oftentimes irrelevant to their needs and to their lives.

For these and other reasons, South Asia has more children in abusive work than any other region of the world.[4] Children in India work in agriculture, industry, domestic work, the commercial sex industry, home industries (work for the family), forced and bonded labor, and as street

hawkers of newspapers, candy, and other trinkets, and in many other occupations.

The lack of meaningful, accessible, and affordable education is one reason why children work. Where government, or "formal" schools do not meet local needs, a growing number of "nonformal" schools are being founded. These schools, most of them run by NGOs, sometimes teach a different curriculum or meet at places and times that are more convenient for child laborers. Some provide students, who have dropped out, a way to catch up on their studies and re-enter formal schools. Nonformal schools are an attempt to create a type of education that is accessible and relevant for working children.

nonformal—not formally controlled or regulated by the government

Indian Culture and Child Labor

How can abusive child labor be stopped? Efforts to eradicate child labor challenge age-old cultural beliefs and attitudes. Indian society abides by a rigid caste system that observes a strict social hierarchy. Every person belongs to a caste, each with its corresponding level of status. There is little, if any, mobility between these status groups, and those in the lowest caste are often the most exploited workers. This social structure is widely accepted in the society. Although government and private efforts are being made to break down the caste system, change is slow.

caste—a division of society based on differences of wealth, inherited rank or privilege, profession, or occupation

social hierarchy—a classification of people based on social standing

In addition to children from low castes, children who are most likely to be exploited and abused include children from poor and destitute families; migrants who are unfamiliar with local laws and language; and girls. Many child laborers fall under a combination of these categories, magnifying their risk even further.

International Standards and Conventions

Basic Law

India was among the first countries to join the International Labor Organization (ILO) when it was founded in 1919. As a member country of the ILO, India is committed to abiding by the ILO's Conventions and Recommendations. However, India has not ratified the basic anti-child labor Convention, No. 138, which sets a general minimum age of employment at 15 years. One objection voiced by India and other countries is that it would be difficult to identify children under 15 because many Indian children do not have birth certificates.[5]

convention—an agreement between countries for regulation of matters that affect all of them

International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC)

In 1992, India was the first country to join the ILO's new International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC). The ILO provides IPEC with money for a wide range of activities designed to increase understanding of child labor and implement programs to reduce it. The government began training, research, and awareness for laborers, families, and child labor inspectors.[6]

United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)

In the same year, (1992), India ratified the CRC, which helped to generate greater public awareness of children's rights.[7] The government also cooperates with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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(UNESCO), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and numerous international NGOs regarding children's labor issues.[8] Most of these NGOs provide money for programs to help children.

"Worst" Forms of Child Labor

In 1998, international agencies and UN-associated and private international agencies gathered in New Delhi, India, and made a joint declaration pledging to eliminate child labor.[9] At the surface level, this signified India's commitment to abide by international efforts to guarantee the well-being of children. In 1999, the ILO adopted a new convention, No. 182, that targets the "worst" forms of child labor—slavery, debt bondage, prostitution, pornography, forced recruitment of children for use in armed conflict, use of children in drug trafficking and other illicit activities, and all other work harmful or hazardous to the health, safety, or morality of girls and boys under 18 years of age.[10] This convention went into force in November, 2000 and obliges member states to focus their policies on effectively abolishing these types of child labor.

Domestic Action

Constitution

compulsory—required by law

India's constitution, adopted in 1950, prohibits the employment of children in hazardous work and states the government's endeavor to provide free and compulsory education for all children aged 14 and under. More specific laws protecting children have been passed since. In 1979, the Indian government appointed a committee to investigate child employment in depth, and to identify the causes leading to and problems arising out of its practice. The committee was instructed to suggest measures to guarantee working children's protection and welfare. The committee made a distinction between child "employment" and "exploitation," which was important because it recognized that some types of work were acceptable for children while some were not. The committee's report was followed by the passage of the Child Labor (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986.

National Child Labor Projects

In 1988, as a result of the committee's findings and the passage of the Child Labor Act, the government began the National Child Labor Projects (NCLP). The first nine projects targeted areas with high concentrations of child labor. Each project aimed to deliver the same basic services: increasing enforcement of anti-child labor laws; creating special nonformal schools where working children could receive an education; vocational training; supplementary nutrition; health care; and even a stipend to compensate for lost wages. The projects also included measures to improve education for parents and to increase general public understanding of work that exploited or harmed children.[11]

stipend—a fixed sum of money paid periodically to defray expenses

As of the year 2000, the NCLP had grown to encompass 76 projects and 1,800 nonformal schools. According to a study on India's human rights practices conducted by the U.S. Department of State, it was noted that only approximately 59 percent of children between the ages of 5 and 14 attend school.[12] The 1999 estimate of the primary-school-age population was 203 million, which meant that about 83 million children were not receiving an education.[13] The program has been hampered by a shortage

of money to meet the huge needs; poor organization; inadequate involvement of the local community; and the unrealistic expectation that students will complete primary schooling in two years under part-time instruction by ill-equipped teachers.[14]

Child Labor and Human Rights
In 1993, the government created the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) to investigate and recommend human rights policy changes and to contribute to the establishment, growth, and function of human rights NGOs. A year later, the government set up the National Authority on the Elimination of Child Labor. This organization was initially established to conduct review meetings to strengthen policies and programs relating to child labor. It was also responsible for coordinating the activities of central and state governments with the objective of eliminating child labor.

Education and Child Labor
Education is often cited by child rights activists and international NGOs as one of the most important ways of helping children in abusive labor. While the Indian constitution states the government's commitment to provide a free and compulsory education for all children 14 and under, the reality is not so. In practical terms, education is still not compulsory, free, or universal to all children in India. Arguments abound—among government workers, private voluntary organizations, and others—over whether all children should be allowed to attend school part-time so they can work part-time, or should be banned from all work so that they can attend school full-time. In 1996, the Indian Supreme Court handed down a decision that permitted children to be employed in nonhazardous work for 4–6 hours per day while receiving education for two hours a day. This decision did not resolve the arguments but did make legal the argument for part-time school and part-time work.

Local Action

Programs to help working children range from government schools; to projects to help families start small businesses, schools, training, and jobs programs run by NGOs. Some NGOs, such as UNICEF and the ILO, get their money from national governments and work closely with local governments in cities, counties, towns, and villages. Others, such as Oxfam or Save the Children, get their money mostly from private donations. Sometimes they work with government projects, but often they work independently.

For example:

- The Union Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment set up a 24-hour "child help line" phone-in service for children in distress in nine cities. The help line is run by NGOs with government funding, and its services target street children, orphans, runaway children, and abused children.[15]
- The South Asian Coalition on Child Servitude (SACCS), based in New Delhi, is a coalition of over 400 organizations: NGOs, human rights organizations, trade unions, and other child rights groups and individuals. The SACCS works to free children from the workplace and operates an education and training center for children.[16]

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- Other efforts, some funded by the government and some by private contributions or foreign aid, include mobile classrooms that are set up in railway stations, bus terminals, and marketplaces where many street children live and work.

Education Programs
Schools that are not run by the government—so-called "nonformal" schools—can be loosely categorized into two types. Some nonformal schools are schools set up to replace the local government school. They might meet at times and places convenient to child workers. They also might teach a different curriculum from the government schools. Another type of nonformal school is the "bridge" school, which helps children catch up to their grade level, and then return to the local government school.

Advocates of nonformal schools believe that this is an effective way to meet children's immediate educational needs, while also considering their work situations. In addition, some programs provide financial incentives and/or stipends to students who attend these schools as a way to compensate for lost wages. But critics fear that nonformal education programs that make education accessible and adapt it to accommodate children's work schedules might actually encourage children to work.

Industry Programs:
Employers in some industries have taken steps to combat child labor. Makers, exporters, importers, and retailers of hand-made carpets have initiated at least three efforts to reduce abusive child labor and alert consumers to their work:

- The Carpet Export Promotion Council (CEPC) is a quasi-governmental organization that has a membership of 2,500 exporters who have agreed not to purchase hand-knotted carpets made by children.[17] CEPC conducts inspections of factories and allows members to use a label to signify compliance.
- The Rugmark Campaign is similar in function, but differs in the way it tries to convince carpet makers to not employ children, and it is privately funded.
- Care & Fair pays for clinics and schools in some carpet-manufacturing communities.

Although these efforts have received a lot of attention in the international press, it is not clear how effective these efforts are at reducing child labor in the industry.

The Impact of Intervention

The combination of public and private efforts—removing children from labor and putting them in education; providing financial incentives to families; and instituting practices to prevent child labor—continues to shape the method of reform.[18]

absolute—independent of arbitrary standards of measurement (as opposed to relative)

Even so, India still has the largest absolute number of child laborers in the world. Most NGOs and international organizations use 44 to 55 million as a working figure.[19] This is a rough approximation that falls between the official data and NGO estimates. Official statistics reflect only the

number of children who work in formal jobs—whose work is legally documented. However, these children comprise a mere fraction of the total child labor force. The informal sectors, both in urban and rural areas, account for almost the entire child labor force.[20] The highest estimates by NGOs include the 100 million children who do not attend school; it is assumed that because they do not attend school, they are probably working. About 500,000 children spend their days working on city streets, according to estimates by UNICEF and the government of India.[21] Other estimates cite as many as 11 million street children in India.[22]

Historians agree that at least three changes have helped richer countries reduce child labor: economic growth that has benefited the majority of a nation's economy; widespread affordable and meaningful education; and the passage and enforcement of laws. India has many laws. Their enforcement, however, remains uneven.

The eradication of child labor in India is a slow process. Legal measures abound, but resources and widespread community support are still lacking enough to hamper progress. Many questions remain unanswered:

- How can the Indian government effectively enforce international and national laws that prohibit exploitative child labor, when its own resources and infrastructure are insufficient?
- Likewise, how can the Indian government achieve this goal when social and cultural attitudes toward child labor are deeply embedded and widely accepted by the Indian population?
- How can India take advantage of its role in a global economy without engaging its children in exploitative labor?
- What can be done to overcome government bureaucracy and corruption to guarantee that aid always reaches its intended target?
- What is a feasible solution for providing education for all children, given India's limited financial resources and enormous population?

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CHILD LABOR IN UGANDA: A LOOK AT CHILD SOLDIERS

child labor—work that is physically, mentally, and morally hazardous, exploitative, or harmful to children under 18; and work that bars children from receiving primary education

As with most societies around the world, child labor is not new to Uganda. Rather, children have always worked with their families or other employers under conditions ranging from beneficial and benign, to harmful and hazardous. Despite the legal measures enacted to curb its existence, child labor continues to exist because of an imbalance between the size of the population and the distribution of resources, which are limited by the country's poverty. The country's civil war also complicates efforts to help children in need.

transparent—having readily available data and clarity of bank balance sheets, financial transactions, and accounting practices

market-driven economy—an economy governed by the unregulated exchange of commodities based on supply and demand; This is the opposite of a government-controlled economy.

The government has adopted some general policies—including a democratic form of government; a relatively transparent and market-driven economy; and an increase in support for public schooling—that should reduce poverty and child labor over time. In December, 2000, Uganda's poverty relief plans so impressed the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund that Uganda won debt relief from the international finance officials.

At the same time, insufficient data about child labor, lack of resources, and lack of community awareness of children's rights prevent the government from effectively enforcing any of the major laws and international agreements that prohibit child labor. In addition, President Yoweri Museveni's reputation as a democratic-minded reformer has been hurt domestically and abroad by his controversial victory in the March, 2001 presidential elections.[23] Other independent sources raise questions about the presence of Ugandan troops in the Democratic Republic of the Congo [hereafter, "the Congo"]. The Ugandan government maintains that it sent troops into the Congo in 1998 as a security measure, to protect Uganda's borders from incursions by the rebels based in the Congo.[24] Since then, critics have alleged that the Ugandan government, under Museveni's leadership, has profited from the "mass-scale looting" of the Congo's diamonds, gold, timber, elephant tusks, and other resources.[25] In short, Museveni's credibility has been tainted by these developments.

incursion—a raid

The Nature of Child Labor in Uganda

informal—not regulated or protected by law

Working children are quite common in Uganda, predominantly in the informal sector as is the case in many developing countries. The lack of research and the difficulty in defining what amounts to "child labor" has made it difficult to determine exact numbers of children working in exploitative, harmful, or hazardous conditions. However, a quick look at school attendance data can often be an indicator of how many children might be in the workforce. In 1996, Uganda had 6.6 million school-age children (between the ages of 5 and 18). Of those children, 2.8 million of them were not attending school at all; it is likely that they were working instead.[26]

subsistence farm—a farm that provides all or almost all of the goods required by the farm family, usually without any surplus for sale

In rural areas, children often work on the subsistence farms of extended family members, on commercial tea farms during harvest season, or as domestic servants.[27] In cities, children peddle small items on the streets, are involved in the commercial sex industry (especially in border towns and in Kampala, Uganda's capital city), or beg for money.[28] In border areas, the smuggling industry employs large numbers of children who

are hired to walk back and forth across the unguarded borders with Kenya and Tanzania, transporting small amounts of fuel, sugar, coffee, or other goods.[29]

The one form of child labor that perhaps poses the most immediate threat to children's safety and welfare is their role as soldiers in the civil war between the government and various rebel militias. The country has experienced almost constant conflict since gaining independence from Britain in 1963. There have been civil wars, military coups and invasions, guerilla-style attacks, and banditry. Both the present Ugandan government and the rebel militias that oppose it are guilty of recruiting and training children to fight in combat.

The scope of the problem caught international attention in 1986 when then-guerrilla leader Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA) marched victoriously into the capital city of Kampala, Uganda. Marching with the army were dozens of *kadogos* (little soldiers), some as young as five years old, wearing full combat gear and carrying weapons.[30] Museveni has been the president of Uganda since 1986, and is again fighting a civil war, this time, against the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and other smaller rebel groups. The use of child soldiers in this ongoing civil war has been closely followed by the international community.

There are an estimated 300,000 child soldiers (defined as soldiers under age 18) fighting in different conflicts around the world, according to the international Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers.[31] Over 120,000 of these child soldiers—over 40 percent of the world's total—are in African countries.[32]

According to the NRA (the government's army, now called the Uganda People's Defense Force (UPDF)), the civil war of 1981–1986 left so many orphans and abandoned children in its wake that the then-popularly supported NRA felt "obliged" to take these children in to protect them.[33] As the war progressed and fighting became more intense, the NRA leaders decided to disperse the children among the various NRA camps and give them basic self-defense training to reduce their liability. Eventually, the children began to take on greater responsibilities and began accompanying officers on missions, carrying supplies and weapons, cooking and cleaning, and eventually fighting. Most of these children were fiercely loyal to the NRA and highly motivated by a strong sense of revenge triggered by the atrocities committed against their families.[34] Toward the end of the war, the NRA's escalating military activity required more soldiers, so children were increasingly sent to the front lines to fight.[35]

Today, the reasons that draw children into armed conflict are more complex than the absorption of abandoned and orphaned children into armed forces. One of the most basic reasons that children join armed groups is economic.[36] Hunger and poverty may drive parents to offer their children for service. In some cases, armies pay a minor soldier's wages directly to the family.[37] Children might also volunteer if they believe that this is the only way to guarantee regular meals, clothing, or medical attention. Some case studies tell of parents who encourage their daughters to become soldiers if their marriage prospects are poor.[38]

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The proliferation of small arms has made it feasible to use children in combat. The AK-47 and M-16, for example, are widely available, inexpensive, and light enough for even small children to handle, making it easy to send armed children into battle.

proliferation—rapid growth

Some children feel obliged to become soldiers for their own protection. Faced with violence and chaos all around, they decide they are safer with guns in their hands.[39] Some former child soldiers report that they enlisted in a quest for adventure and excitement—to live life on the edge, to wield a gun, to escape the drudgery of their isolated villages or refugee camps.[40] Some children are so accustomed to life as a soldier that even after they are "rescued" by relief workers, they escape and immediately return to the military.[41] There are also children who enlist out of a desire to avenge the deaths of family members and other loved ones. Or, children who have been orphaned by the war end up joining the military out of desperation, not knowing where else to turn for food and shelter.

The child soldiers who did not enlist voluntarily were most likely forced, either having been heavily pressured into enlisting in the NRA (prior to 1986), or simply having been abducted by the LRA. It is estimated that the LRA has abducted 12,000 children in the past 10 years.[42] This rebel group is the successor to an earlier group called the "Holy Spirit Warriors" which also abducted children to work and fight for them. It is estimated by the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers that around 90 percent of LRA soldiers are abducted children, and it is widely believed that the group could not operate without them.[43] Another rebel militia that is known to abduct children is the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), active in western Uganda.

The LRA abducts children from their schools, communities, and homes. The children are usually made to walk across the border to their base camp in Sudan. The base camp is in Sudan because the Sudanese government supplies the LRA with both food and arms in exchange for assistance in fighting the rebel Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA).[44] The LRA also fights against Uganda's government army, the UPDF. Abducted children who attempt to escape, pr who resist, cannot keep up, or become ill, are killed. At the camp, children are trained as soldiers and used as slave labor; in addition, girls are usually given to commanders as "wives." Children who try to escape are beaten or killed, and when a child manages to escape, revenge is taken on the families and communities. Once trained, children aid rebels in looting villages (in both Sudan and Uganda), abducting more children, and fighting against the UPDF or the SPLA. In its *1999 Country Report on Human Rights Practices: Uganda*, the U.S. Department of State indicated that they believe the LRA had turned to selling abducted children in return for arms.[45]

International Standards and Conventions

convention—an agreement between countries for regulation of matters that affect all of them

Many laws exist at the international and national levels to address child labor, and more specifically to address the situation of child soldiers. The Additional Protocol I to the 1949 Geneva Conventions was passed in 1977. It included measures to protect child "victims of armed conflict." It also included the prohibition of recruiting children under age 15 into the armed forces.

handout #2

In 1990, President Museveni also attended the United Nations' World Summit for Children where he joined other state leaders in a world declaration on the survival, protection, and development of children. In 1992, Uganda signed the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, which essentially reinforced its commitment to upholding the rights of its children as specified in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Uganda ratified the charter in 1994. These actions taken by the Ugandan government at the surface level signify its commitment to abide by international efforts to guarantee the well-being of children.

ratify—to approve and sanction formally

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)
In 1990, Uganda ratified the CRC, which aimed to establish a set of universal rights for children. The CRC defines a child as anyone under the age of 18. Article 38 of the CRC mandates that the state must protect civilians during armed conflict and take "all feasible measures to ensure the protection and care of children who are affected by armed conflict." It also specifically forbids the recruitment of children younger than 15 years old into the armed forces.

In May of 2000, the United Nations unanimously adopted the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict. This protocol is much more specific in forbidding children under the age of 18 from being recruited into armed forces of either the government or nongovernment forces. This means that the rebel groups are also required by international law to abide by these rules, and that the government must take measures to prevent illegal recruitment, even by rebel armies. Children aged 16 and over are allowed to volunteer for the armed forces, but only with informed parental consent and proof of age. Furthermore, the government is mandated to demobilize children who have been recruited or used in violation of the protocol, providing appropriate reintegration help.[46] As of September, 2000, Uganda had not signed or ratified this protocol.

demobilize—to discharge from military service

reintegrate—to integrate back into (society and normal life)

"Worst" Forms of Child Labor
The International Labor Organization has also adopted conventions aimed at eliminating child labor around the world. In 1999, the ILO adopted a new convention, No. 182, that targets the worst forms of child labor: slavery, debt bondage, prostitution, pornography, forced recruitment of children for use in armed conflict, use of children in drug trafficking and other illicit activities, and all other work harmful or hazardous to the health, safety, or morality of girls and boys under 18 years of age.[47] This convention went into force in November, 2000, and obliges member states to gear their policies toward effective abolition of these types of child labor. As of April, 2001, Uganda had not ratified the convention.[48]

The Clean Diamonds Act Campaign
The use of economic pressure is one method that can potentially have impact on groups that violate human rights. In Africa, much of the conflict is over the possession of natural resources such as diamonds and gold. According to U.S. Congress, diamonds, for example, "are being used by rebels and dictators to finance military activities, overthrow legitimate governments, subvert international efforts to promote peace and stability, and commit horrifying atrocities against unarmed

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civilians."[49] These atrocities include using children as soldiers in these wars. So-called "conflict diamonds" and the unrest surrounding them are said to have caused the deaths of 2.4 million adults and children who have fought in the diamond wars.[50]

Since the United States imports two-thirds of the world's diamond supply, it believes it is well positioned to use economic pressure to curb the trade of conflict diamonds. The Clean Diamonds Act has been proposed to use the economic leverage of the United States. If passed, the act would allow only "clean" diamonds to be imported; establish a system of controls to regulate and monitor the export of diamonds so each stone's path from origin to final destination can be tracked and deemed "clean"; seize and sell contraband to pay for prosthetic limbs and other relief for war victims.[51] The bill was introduced to the House of Representatives in March, 2001, and scheduled to go to the Senate shortly after. As of April, 2001, the bill was still undergoing review.

The Role of the United Nations

The United Nations was founded after World War II to "maintain international peace and security, develop friendly relations among nations and promote social progress, better living standards and human rights."[52] Within the UN there are special divisions devoted solely to children and children's issues.

The Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict is an advocacy agency of the UN whose mandate is to "promote the protection, rights and welfare of children at every phase of conflict."[53] UNICEF is an operating agency of the UN whose mandate is not only to advocate for the protection of children's rights, but also "to help meet their basic needs and to expand their opportunities to reach their full potential," which translates into hands-on involvement and program implementation.

UN Security Council

In 1999 and 2000, the United Nations Security Council passed two resolutions specifically addressing the situation of children in armed conflict. The resolutions, numbered 1261 and 1314, are particularly significant because the Security Council normally discusses peace and security issues in the context of specific regions or countries, not by themes like children's rights.[54]

Resolution 1261 is an advocacy tool that urges member states and the UN system to:

- work harder to end the recruitment and use of child soldiers
- facilitate the disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation, and reintegration of child soldiers
- take special measures to protect children, particularly girls, from rape and other forms of sexual abuse
- recognize the damaging impact of the proliferation and trade of small arms on the security of vulnerable members of the population, specifically, children

Resolution 1314 is a plan of action for those working to protect children in situations of armed conflict.[55] Its main points include:

- Excluding from amnesty anyone responsible for grave crimes against children
- Addressing the illicit trade in diamonds and other resources, which contributes to the victimization of children
- Increasing protection of and help for refugees (most of whom are women and children)
- Stressing the importance of addressing the special needs and vulnerabilities of girls affected by armed conflict
- Intensifying efforts to obtain the release of abducted children
- Encouraging increased regional and cross-border initiatives on child soldiers and the illicit trafficking of small arms
- Developing child protection policies and programs
- Urging states to sign and ratify the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict
- Involving children in peace programs
- Including Child Protection Advisors in future UN peacekeeping operations

These resolutions were seen as breakthroughs because "they formally established that safeguarding the protection, rights, and welfare of war-affected children everywhere is a crucial peace and security concern that legitimately belongs on the highest agendas."[56] Together, these resolutions represent a concrete plan of advocacy and action that strives to keep children at the forefront of international peace and security discussions and operations.

UNICEF

UNICEF has outlined its own plan of action as a way to identify and clarify what those needs are and how government agencies and NGOs can address them appropriately.[57] UNICEF's Medium-Term Plan for 1998–2001 and its 1999 "Peace and Security Agenda for Children" identify key priorities and recommendations, which include goals to:[58]

- *Protect children and end the use of children as soldiers.* Impose a clear ban on the recruitment of children under 18 years of age into the armed forces.[59]
- *Adopt and implement relevant policies and legal standards to protect children's rights.* Provide children's rights training for all military, civilian, and peacekeeping personnel, to make them aware of their legal responsibilities to all children, including the need to shield them from violations of their rights.[60]
- *Ensure that peace-building specifically includes children.* Peace agreements and peacekeeping operations must include full-fledged demobilization programs specifically designed for child soldiers. These must be aimed not only at reclaiming and destroying weaponry, but also at providing former child soldiers with psychosocial support, material benefits, and vocational alternatives. UNICEF recognizes that preventing the recruitment of children or their demobilization requires a long-term commitment to education and vocational training, attention to psychosocial needs and commitment to reunifying children with their families, when possible.[61]

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- *Challenge the impunity of war crimes, especially those committed against children.* Children's recruitment as members of armed forces, their rape and slaughter, and the targeting of their schools and hospitals are recognized by the International Criminal Court statute as heinous atrocities, which UNICEF believes should be punishable crimes.[62]
- *Promote early warning and preventive action for children.* Supports the establishment of permanent, independent national institutions that will protect human rights and reinstitute the rule of law.[63]
- *Restore normalcy in children's lives during or following conflicts.* Rapidly reestablish primary education, partly as an aim in itself, and partly because relevant, quality education helps restore normalcy and enables children to cope better with stress. For children affected by armed conflict, education promotes healing and social reintegration, creating a sense of normality and purpose in their lives. Education also fosters tolerance and peaceful conflict resolution.[64]

In practice, these general goals should be more specifically addressed at the national and local levels, through national government policies and various strategies for local action.

Domestic Action: Ugandan Government Policies

While President Museveni has not signed the last two protocols and conventions, Uganda has made some progress. For example, more children are now going to school than before, which is one reason why some of the nation's debts have been forgiven. In 1996, Uganda also ratified the Children's Statute, which outlines broad protection of children and the provision of their rights.[65] Still, it has been difficult for Museveni to uphold children's rights and to abide by the international agreements and national policies he has signed and ratified. Uganda has limited resources, widespread poverty, entrenched cultural attitudes toward girls, poor infrastructure, a large child population, the AIDS pandemic, and persistent civil strife and armed conflict—all of which have affected Uganda's children, directly and indirectly.

infrastructure—the underlying foundation or basic framework; the system of public works of a country, state, region

pandemic—occurring over a wide geographic area and affecting an exceptionally high proportion of the population

The National Council for Children (NCC) was inaugurated in 1993 to coordinate the implementation of the Ugandan National Plan of Action for Children (UNPAC). While the NCC is in charge of coordinating programs and projects, existing government structures and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are in charge of actually implementing NPA activities. In addition, international NGOs and external support agencies have played important roles in initiating and supporting programs aimed at child survival, protection, and development.

inaugurate—to observe the formal beginning of

external support agency—non-Uganda-based agency that lends financial support

Education Programs

The national government's Universal Primary Education (UPE) program is intended to provide free education through the seventh grade for a maximum of four children per family. The program remains only partially implemented due to strained finances, instability in some areas, infrastructure problems, and inadequate teacher training. In addition, parents must still pay for books, uniforms, and other school costs, making education unfeasible for many poor families. In families with more than four children, some children, usually the girls, end up being deprived of an education.

insurgency—a condition of revolt against a government that is less organized than a revolution

Special Measures to Address Civil Conflict

President Museveni's Presidential Amnesty for rebels is part of his strategy to clear the country of rebellion and insurgency. According to the amnesty, rebels who surrender are not prosecuted, and many of them have been reintegrated into the NRA.[66] Another attempt to protect civilians is the "protected camps" set up near Ugandan army installations in order to decrease the vulnerability of those living in isolated rural villages.[67] Tens of thousands of people have fled the countryside to live in these camps, but overcrowding, lack of food, and poor sanitation facilities have made people susceptible to death from malnutrition and disease.[68] And despite the original aim of the camps, which was to be a protected place for civilians, the camps remain targets for rebel attacks.[69]

Local Action: Reintegration of Former Child Soldiers

Intervention at the international and national levels tend to be general in nature, focusing on preventing further recruitment of child soldiers, enforcing children's rights, and formulating plans of action to demobilize and reintegrate child soldiers. At the local level, however, intervention assumes many different forms and encompasses different objectives. This is partly because the needs of former child soldiers are diverse and partly because there are so many parties involved: the children themselves, their parents, military groups, local, state, and national governments, NGOs, and individuals. According to Human Rights Watch, the Ugandan government does not appear to have a concrete program in place to rehabilitate and reintegrate child soldiers into civilian life; instead they appear to rely on local and international NGOs to do this.[70]

Rehabilitation: Addressing Psychological Needs

Addressing the needs of ex-child soldiers requires special consideration because many child soldiers have grown from school age to teens knowing only military life, combat, and violence. Regardless of whether they were abducted or voluntarily joined the army, all of these children have experienced extreme forms of trauma. They have witnessed, been victims of, and/or committed atrocities for which they have few coping skills and for which society is not always quick to forget or forgive. To reintegrate them into society without addressing these particular areas of their past would be harmful and in some cases, dangerous. In addition, children who have been rescued from the rebels or have escaped live in fear of being re-abducted or killed by the rebels. This is one reason why a child soldier might not be able to return home. In other cases, child soldiers cannot return to their homes because their families have fled or been killed, and their villages destroyed. Or their relatives do not want these children back because of the crimes they have committed. These children need special forms of intervention and treatment.

According to UNICEF's *Impact of Armed Conflict on Children* report, former child soldiers have experienced considerable trauma, which must be addressed in a culturally appropriate and sensitive way. Trauma-related stress can affect children in a number of ways: increased separation anxiety, developmental delays, nightmares, lack of appetite, withdrawn behavior, lack of interest in play, anxiety, aggressive behavior, and depression.[71] Currently, only two NGOs provide live-in trauma counseling for escaped and rescued abductees—World Vision Gulu and Gulu Save the Children Organization (GUSCO). Officials from these

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centers believe they are an indispensable step in the process of healthy and successful reintegration into society. But critics argue that counseling approaches based on Western mental health practices are not always effective or appropriate in all cultures.[72]

Education and Vocational Training

According to a joint report by the Global Information Networks in Education (GINIE) and the UNESCO Institute for Education (UIE), former child soldiers without some type of education are likely to become part of the unemployed or unemployable underclass of society.[73] Uganda's Universal Primary Education Program aims to provide primary education but not secondary or vocational education. UNICEF's view is that education promotes healing and social reintegration. Therefore, it recommends that education be made accessible by using all available community facilities (not just school buildings) and using alternative approaches to education.[74]

While primary education programs may be relevant to former child soldiers who are still of primary school age, they may not be relevant to former soldiers who may have spent their entire school-age years in the military. In such a case, a vocational training program might be more appropriate. Or, as UNICEF suggests, governments, international agencies, and NGOs should develop age-appropriate educational programs for out-of-school youth to address their special needs.[75]

In 1987, the Ugandan government set up a special school for former child soldiers to address their unique situation. Under this plan, child soldiers in the NRA were enrolled in a special school registered under the Ministry of Education but run by the NRA.[76] Former rebel child soldiers also attended this special school. Teachers were professionals who underwent special training on how to handle child soldiers.[77] The special school was meant to eventually transition these children into civilian schools. Those who did not finish this school had the option of either leaving the army entirely or getting further military training and remaining soldiers.[78]

Community Support and Involvement

Raising community awareness of children's issues and mobilizing the community to take action on behalf of its children have proven to be successful elements of rebuilding conflict-ridden societies and helping achieve a sense of normalcy for former child soldiers.[79]

According to the GINIE/UIE report, "conflict is often accompanied by the breakdown of community programs and support systems."[80] Oftentimes, organizations will set up some type of rehabilitation program specifically for former child soldiers. UNICEF suggests that instead of creating institutions that separate former child soldiers from other children, programs should mobilize the existing social system and train the community to embrace these children and nurture them back to emotional health.[81] Furthermore, programs should emphasize understanding and respect for local culture and traditions.[82] According to UNICEF's recommendations, programs should not exist independently of the community, but in collaboration with the community to ensure long-term care and follow-through.

A long-term goal is to develop a community support system that is self-sufficient and aware of its responsibility to advocate the needs of its children. A 1996 report submitted by Uganda to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights indicated that an impediment to reform in Uganda is "a generally low level of understanding among the people of the rights of the child and what this means in practice."[83]

impediment—a hindrance or obstacle

Community involvement can also take the form of empowering local people to take action. An example of a grass-roots strategy for dealing with former child soldiers in Uganda is the Concerned Parents Association (CPA), formed by a group of local people who decided to take action. The CPA was started in 1996 by the parents of 139 high school girls who had been abducted by the LRA from St. Mary's College School, an elite high school for girls. One hundred nine girls were released to the girls' teacher, who had chased the rebels and the abducted girls into the bush to plead for their lives. The other 30 were kept as slaves, soldiers, and "wives." Some have escaped, but most remained in captivity as of 2001. The parents of the girls, frustrated by their own powerlessness, created the CPA as a way to draw the attention of the government, which they believed was capable of rescuing their children.[84] The group's overall objectives include the immediate and unconditional release of all abducted children; peaceful resolution of the conflicts; and increased community awareness of the plight of children in conflict.[85] As of March, 2001, the CPA had 2,000 registered members. It has lobbied influential figures and national organizations who support peace efforts in Uganda; it has sent messages through contacts to rebel commanders seeking the children's release; it has established links with a number of international humanitarian and human rights groups; and it has succeeded in generating greater awareness locally and internationally.[86] But as of spring, 2001, it had not succeeded in securing the release of abductees.[87]

grass-roots—pertaining to the basic level of society

The Impact of Intervention

Programs designed to counsel and rehabilitate former child soldiers are experiencing varying levels of success, according to surveys conducted by the U.S. Department of State and Uganda's report to the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights.

At the same time, while the Ugandan government expresses its commitment to uphold children's rights with its ratification of international treaties like the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, it has not ratified the two most relevant laws: the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict; and the ILO Convention 182 on the worst forms of child labor.

Progress in preventing the recruitment of children into armed forces and the reintegration of former child soldiers is obstructed by limited resources, a large child population, a low level of public awareness of children's rights, widespread poverty, and ongoing civil conflict. As of spring, 2001, the conflict in Uganda showed no signs of ending. It remains to be seen what the future holds for Uganda's children. Many questions remain unanswered:

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- Until peace can be achieved in Uganda, what does the future hold for its children?
- How effective can any program really be—international, national, or local—if ongoing conflict continues to threaten the safety and well-being of children?
- How can the rebels be convinced not to kidnap children or recruit them as soldiers?
- Likewise, how can the Ugandan government enforce international laws that forbid the recruitment of children into rebel armed forces?
- How many more children will be abducted into the rebel army as the war against the government continues?
- What can be done to limit the trafficking of small arms to conflict areas?

handout #3

CHILD LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES: A LOOK AT MIGRANT FARMWORKER CHILDREN

child labor—work that is physically, mentally, and morally hazardous, exploitative, or harmful to children under 18; and work that bars children from receiving primary education

contentious—likely to cause an argument

Contrary to the popular belief that child labor occurs only in poor, developing countries, child labor has played a significant role in the United States' own development and continues to be a contentious issue today. The rise of child labor (specifically, wage employment in industry) in the United States coincided with the country's industrialization in the 19th century. By the start of the 20th century, more than two million children worked in a variety of job situations—in mines, factories, farms, and on the streets.[88] Most children worked to support their families.

The Nature of Child Labor in the United States

Today, child labor in the United States still exists. Young workers are commonly concentrated in jobs such as retail sales, food preparation, and other services. In the past, most children under 18 who worked for pay, full-time or part-time, were trying to earn money to help support their families. Today, most children who work for pay are earning pocket money to spend on non-essentials, such as clothing or gas for their own cars. A smaller percentage of children work to earn money to pay their families' basic expenses, such as food or rent.

demarcate—to set apart

What distinguishes "child labor" from acceptable and legal work? Federal and state laws clearly demarcate what is and is not acceptable for children in these types of jobs. For example, federal law allows 14 and 15 year olds to work in nonhazardous jobs outside school hours.[89] In non-agricultural jobs, they can work no more than 3 hours on a school day, 18 hours in a school week, 8 hours on a non-school day, or 40 hours in a non-school week.[90] They must not work past 7 p.m. on a school night or 9 p.m. on other nights.[91]

Today, a typical child labor case might involve a child working too many hours at a retail store or fast-food restaurant during a school week, working past a certain hour of night, or performing dangerous tasks, such as operating machinery. The hiring of underage children in businesses and local industries is fairly common.[92] A Rutgers University economist estimated that in 1996, over 290,000 children were employed illegally in the United States, saving employers $155 million in wages.[93] Federal and state departments of labor are responsible for identifying child labor abuses. Employers who commit child labor abuses could be fined. The maximum fine is $10,000 and is imposed only when a child working illegally is seriously injured or killed.[94] Otherwise, a 1997 investigation by The Associated Press (AP) found that the average fine amounted to $887.[95]

sweatshop—a business with a pattern of violating wage, safety, and child labor regulations

Some children, however, do work to help support their families. A disproportionate number of these children are of immigrant descent, come from poor families, and have uneducated parents. These children often are engaged in occupations such as meat cutting, construction, or farm work, that pose enormous risks to their health, safety, development, and educational attainment. An estimated 13,100 children work in garment industry sweatshops, and an unknown number work in

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similarly strenuous or dangerous conditions in the restaurant and meat processing industries.[96] Although there is no agreed-upon legal definition, sweatshops are loosely defined as businesses with a pattern of violating wage, safety, and child labor regulations. Agriculture has many low-paying jobs performed by children under 18 years old, including some younger than 10. Whether these jobs are "child labor" is a matter of dispute. Child agricultural workers fall into three groups: (1) unaccompanied migrants; (2) children of migrant farmworkers who work with their families; and (3) children of farm owners who work on their family properties.[97]

migrant—a person who stays away from his or her normal residence overnight or longer to perform farm work for wages

The agricultural sector is the exception to most regulatory and protective child labor laws. Compared to young people working in other occupations, the law allows child farm workers to work as cultivators, harvesters, and in other tasks at a younger age, for more hours, and in more hazardous types of tasks. Together, child agricultural workers account for only 6–8 percent of all young workers under the age of 18, but for 40 percent of all deaths among workers under 18.[98]

regulatory—authorized by law

This handout focuses specifically on the children of migrant farmworkers who work with their families in the fields to supplement the family income. It is estimated that there are as many as 1.3 million farmworker children in the United States, 300,000 of whom migrate.[99] The vast majority of these migrant children are of Mexican descent. In 1997, 40 percent of migrant children over the age of seven worked in the fields.[100] Seventy percent of migrant children lived below the poverty line.[101] Eighty percent of migrant parents did not speak English.[102]

supplement—to add to

Children who work in agriculture are often exposed to toxic chemicals and pesticides, use sharp cutting tools and machinery, carry heavy loads, and endure extreme weather conditions, all of which place their physical, social, and emotional well-being at immediate and long-term risk. Despite these risks, children as young as nine years of age in some states are allowed by law to do this type of dangerous work.[103] For example, Oregon law allows children to pick berries and beans starting at age nine.[104] Each year, 24,000 children in the United States are injured on farms and 300 die as a result of work-related accidents.[105] In other dangerous occupations, such as logging and mining, the minimum age for workers is 18.[106]

Some children begin accompanying their parents to the fields from the time they are infants. Farmworker families often have no nurseries, baby-sitters, or other child care. Other children work alongside their parents. Often, farm work is piecework: workers are paid according to the weight or amount of fruits or vegetables they harvest. With children picking fruits and vegetables alongside their parents, the added income is a great incentive to keep children in the fields. Sometimes children are paid directly for their work. In other instances, children add what they have picked to their parents' harvest, and the parents get paid for it.

The majority of farmworker families earn less than $10,000 per year.[107] A child's income can help. Also, parents sometimes want their children to learn responsibility and learn how to work hard—or want to impress on

them that they should become educated so that they do not need to be farmworkers for the rest of their lives.

Even when children are not working, they might still be present in the fields because the parents have no other means of caring for their children during the workday. Even for nonworking children, the fields hold many hazards: heavy machinery; farm equipment; chemicals and pesticides; extreme sun, wind, cold, rain; and unsanitary work conditions such as lack of fresh water to wash hands, no toilets, etc.

Migrant farmworker children often have difficulty completing high school. Only roughly 50 percent of migrant students graduate.[108] Many drop out before the legal age of 16 to work full-time in the fields. Even those who do try to stay in school have a tough time balancing the demands of working in the fields and keeping up with schoolwork. Some children even wake up extra early to work in the fields for a few hours before going to school. By the time they reach the classroom, they are tired and less able to concentrate on school.

Although education programs for migrant children exist in all regions of the United States, individual students easily can fall through the cracks. Schools in rural areas are often overwhelmed by the sudden influx of farmworker children who come and go with the harvest.[109] Transferring records from one school to the next, often across state and country borders (with Mexico and Canada), is difficult for several reasons. Sometimes students do not stay in an area long enough to have their records transferred; by the time the records have arrived, the students and their families have moved on in search of more work. Also, standards for advancing from one grade to the next, or for graduation sometimes vary greatly from state to state or country to country in North America. Students who move from school to school frequently can, after several years, fall behind other children their own age, become discouraged, and drop out.

influx—a coming in; an inflow

The vast majority of migrant students do not speak English at home. Many of their parents do not speak English and have no more than a primary education. This makes it more difficult for parents to help their children with their studies.

Intervention on behalf of migrant farmworker children revolves around many key questions. For example, how old should a person be to work legally in agriculture? What could be done to make agricultural work safer? What could be done to help migrant children get an education?

International Standards and Conventions

"Worst" Forms of Child Labor:

In 1999, the United States ratified a new international convention on the "worst" forms of child labor, Convention 182, adopted by the International Labor Organization (ILO). The Senate ratified the convention after the Clinton Administration reported that the U.S. law and its enforcement, is already in compliance with the new treaty.

convention—an agreement between countries for regulation of matters that affect all of them

ratify—to approve and sanction formally

compliance—in fulfillment of official requirements

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Under the convention, the "worst" forms of child labor include, among others, "work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children."[110]

A coalition of groups—farmworker organizations, human rights organizations, trade unions, and others—says that farm work meets all those criteria for being defined as one of the "worst" forms of child labor. U.S. law does not protect farmworker children as vigorously as Convention 182 requires, they argue. Therefore, the United States is not in full compliance with the convention.

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)

The CRC is an especially significant international law because it was designed to guarantee the rights of every child, no matter what the child's circumstances. Some of these rights include the right to survival and development; protection from abuse and neglect; the right to an adequate standard of living; the right to an education; and the right to protection from economic exploitation and dangerous labor. These rights are especially pertinent to the lives of migrant farmworker children.

Only two countries have not yet ratified the CRC—the United States is one of them. The United States has signed the treaty, but the U.S. Senate has not yet ratified it. By signing the Convention, the United States has signaled its intention to ratify it, but has yet to do so. Until the United States actually ratifies the treaty, it is not bound by its terms. As in many other nations, the United States undertakes an extensive examination and scrutiny of treaties before proceeding to ratification. This examination, which includes an evaluation of the degree of compliance with existing law and practice in the country at state and federal levels, can take several years or even longer if the treaty is portrayed as being controversial or if the process is politicized.[111]

politicize—to give a political tone or character to

In the interim, because the CRC has been ratified by every other nation except Somalia (which at the time of this publication did not have a working government), international lawyers consider the convention applicable to the United States anyway.

National Action

Federal Law

In 1938, Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA). It set the minimum age at 14 for employment outside of school hours in nonmanufacturing jobs; at 16 for employment during school hours in interstate commerce; and at 18 for occupations deemed hazardous by the secretary of labor. This law is the key piece of federal legislation that deals with child labor. Originally, this law did not offer protective measures for farmworkers (adult or child), but it was amended several times over the years to include them, although with special exemptions and lower age requirements.[112]

interstate commerce—the exchange of commodities from one state to another

exemption—something set apart from the rest and released from some requirement to which others are subject

After many revisions to this law over the past 60 years, the law still makes a distinction between agricultural and nonagricultural workers: nonagricultural workers are subject to stricter regulations. For example, it is legal for a 12-year-old child to harvest asparagus with a knife from

3 a.m. to 8 a.m., seven days a week, before going to school for a full day. The same 12-year-old child would be prohibited from doing any nonagricultural work (other than wreath-making, acting, or newspaper delivery). Under the same law, a 15-year-old child may perform 50 hours per week of agricultural work during the school year, but only 18 hours a week if he or she works at a fast-food restaurant.[113] Moreover, there is no set age minimum for children of farm families who work on their own family farms.

Does the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) Adequately Protect Farmworker Children?

The FLSA is the United States' main federal law defining and prohibiting exploitative work for children. In June, 2000, Human Rights Watch (HRW) issued a report saying that the FLSA, "permits oppressive child labor in agriculture to continue."[114] Some 300,000–800,000 children work in U.S. agriculture, the report asserted. Most of these children are from racial minorities.

Farmworker children, according to the HRW report, are allowed by law to work "under more dangerous conditions" than is legal for children in other occupations. "They are routinely exposed to dangerous pesticides, sometimes working in fields still wet with poison, often given no opportunity to wash their hands before eating lunch. They risk heat exhaustion and dehydration, as their employers fail to provide enough water, or any at all. They suffer injuries from sharp knives, accidents with heavy equipment, and falls from ladders. Repetitive motions in awkward positions (such as kneeling, stooping, or crouching) can potentially cause physical injury or interfere with the proper growth of their bodies. Lack of sleep—because they are working too many hours—interferes with their schooling and increases their chances of injury. Depression affects them more often than other minors—a reflection of the cumulative stresses and burdens in their young lives. Only 55 percent of them graduate from high school."[115]

The report also said that young workers "face persistent wage exploitation and fraud."[116] Nevertheless, many of these children are working in these dangerous conditions legally. The FLSA, according to this and other reports on the topic, allows children on farms to be employed at age 12, compared to 14 for other occupations, and with no limit on the number of hours worked. Children under 16 years old in other occupations are limited to working three hours per day on school days. The FLSA also does not require that children who work longer hours than a normal shift be paid overtime. Agriculture is the second most dangerous occupation after mining, the report asserts. A 1989 report by the National Safety Council listed agriculture as the most dangerous occupation in the United States.[117] Children 18 years or older can work in mines, but in agriculture, children can work in recognizably hazardous jobs at the age of 16.

Several organizations are trying to strengthen U.S. laws to protect children working in agriculture. It is widely agreed among these organizations that the FLSA does not protect children in agriculture as strongly as it protects children in other occupations.

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Enforcing the Law

Child labor in agriculture has been decreasing due to farm mechanization, urbanization, and other factors. Where children work tends to be on relatively small farms and in labor intensive work such as harvesting berries, garlic, and other row crops.[118] The federal government has carried out several campaigns to enforce child labor laws in agriculture. While farmworker groups and other groups generally welcome these campaigns, these groups raise questions about how effective the campaigns really are.

mechanization—the use of machines to replace human or animal labor

urbanization—the process of becoming like a city

The "hot goods" provision in the FLSA is an enforcement tool that allows Department of Labor authorities to seize products that are made with illegal child labor. Under this law, if an underage child picked strawberries, the federal government has the authority to seize the strawberries at any time from the moment they were picked to the day they sit on a supermarket shelf as strawberry jam.[119] Moreover, if the child's basket of strawberries was tossed into a large batch of strawberries picked by adults, the entire batch is subject to seizure as "hot goods."[120] According to a 1997 Associated Press investigation, this law was rarely enforced and seizures of "hot goods" were rare.[121]

Department of Labor (DOL) Initiatives

In 1990, then-Labor Secretary Elizabeth Dole led Operation Child Watch. It found 28,000 minors working in violation of federal labor laws and assessed more than $6 million in fines. Only about one-fourth of that amount was ever collected. A similar program called Operation Salad Bowl, launched by Labor Secretary Alexis Herman, followed in 1997. This program investigated the working conditions of the nation's farm labor and sent DOL investigators to the fields to look for children under 12 years old who were doing restricted, hazardous work. So far, the program has proven to be only nominally successful. Other DOL initiatives include community education and awareness programs like "Work Safe This Summer" which gives child labor compliance information directly to young workers, parents, educators and employers. The "Fair Harvest/Safe Harvest" campaign educates farm workers and their children about workplace rights, child labor, and safety and health hazards in agricultural employment.[122]

Farmworker groups and other anti-child labor advocates say that these enforcement campaigns often miss the bigger problem, which is that the incomes of farm workers (adults and children) are so meager that children will work again as soon as the enforcement campaigns end.[123] They also say that other regulations governing the use of pesticides should be tightened so that pesticide use is made safer for children who work in or live nearby agricultural fields.[124]

Major agricultural industry organizations have denied that children work in agriculture, or that the number is not as great as the farmworker groups and others claim. "We think there are adequate protections in place," said Scott Rawlins, senior environmental policy specialist at the American Farm Bureau Federation.[125]

However, small farms, where children are most likely to work, are exempt from occupational safety provisions. All farms with fewer than

11 employees are exempt from enforcement of Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA) regulations, which govern problems such as how workers are allowed to handle dangerous machinery. Since working children are not always counted in the official number of "workers" on a farm, this exemption can also affect farms with more than 11 workers.

Advocacy Organizations

In the early 1900s, concerned citizens began formal efforts to curb the exploitation of child workers. They formed the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC) in 1904 as a private, nonprofit organization to "promote the rights, dignity, and well-being of children and youth as they relate to work and working." The NCLC today actively educates children about the world of work; works to prevent the exploitation of children and youth in the labor market; works to improve the health and education opportunities for the children of migrant farmworkers; and tries to increase the awareness of child labor issues.[126] Numerous other organizations exist to specifically protect the rights of farmworkers.

Education for Migrant Workers

Education is widely regarded as one of the best ways to give child workers and poor children a ladder out of poverty. Education for migrant workers is a challenge for states because the children are always moving from place to place, making it difficult to maintain continuity.

In 1966, the federal government created the Migrant Education Program (MEP) to help state education departments serve the special needs of migrant children. The programs are funded by the federal government but administered on a local level by state departments of education and local school districts.

The MEP provides states with funding to hire counselors and tutors, train teachers who work with migrant children, create drop-out prevention programs, provide medical and dental services, arrange for transportation, and support summer school programs. About 250,000 children currently participate in various Migrant Education Programs.[127] Students are eligible for funding if they are aged 3–21 and have moved during the last 36 months because they or members of their family were trying to obtain temporary or seasonal employment in agricultural, dairy, fishing, or logging activities.

The MEP's Portable Assisted Study Sequence (PASS) Program aims to keep migratory students in school by offering high school courses that students can take with them wherever they go. PASS was originally developed by the California MEP in 1978 to help migrant high school students continue taking classes and graduate.[128] The Mini-PASS program is similarly structured but targets middle school students.[129] Today, a centralized system keeps track of students' school records to help ensure continuity and coherence among schools in 31 states.[130] Students take classes that adhere to a curriculum approved and accepted by individual school districts and states, making it easier to continue their education even while moving to new districts and states.

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California sponsors the statewide Mini-Corps program, modeled after the Peace Corps program. Mini-Corps tutors provide tutoring for migratory students to give them the academic and social support they need to succeed in their course work and stay in school. The tutors come from migrant family backgrounds and are full-time college students pursuing teaching credentials. They work with migrant students year-round as role models to strengthen the relationships among students, teachers, family members, and members of the community.

Other programs include Migrant Head Start, which targets preschool children; Migrant Education Even Start, which focuses on family literacy and parenting skills; and the College Assistance Migrant Program, which offers assistance to migrant first-year college students through financial aid, tutoring, counseling, and health services. Coalitions of education agencies, community service providers, local colleges, and advocacy groups can also offer comprehensive services for these students.[131]

The Impact of Intervention

Intervention at international, national, and local levels affect migrant farmworker children in different ways. International intervention often takes the form of laws like the ILO conventions and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) that establish universal standards to protect children and guarantee their rights. International standards, however, are not enforced by any international organization. To have a concrete effect, they must be adopted and enforced by national and local governments.

According to U.S. law, migrant farmworker children can legally work at the age of 10, even in jobs that are described by the ILO Convention 182 to be dangerous. And since the United States has not yet ratified the CRC, the issue of whether these children's rights are being respected remains a topic of debate.

Federally funded programs like the MEP specifically serve migrant farmworker children. This program attempts to make education as accessible as possible to migrant farmworker children, whose family and work situations often make it extremely difficult to go to school on a regular basis. These programs, along with other state-run and nongovernmental organizations, recognize these children's specific educational needs and attempt to provide as many opportunities as possible to help them succeed.

Despite progress made to better the lives of migrant farmworker children, many issues remain unresolved, and many questions remain unanswered. For example:

- **Services for Families**
  How can programs serving migrant children be made to serve the needs of their entire families? What can be done to provide vital services such as parent education, housing, job training, and English language instruction, to these families? Whose responsibility is it to provide these services? (What programs that help migrant laborers are in place in your state, school, district, and/or community?)

handout #3

- **Population Changes**
  How do immigration laws and economic conditions impact the demographics of the migrant population? How might demographic changes affect the types of services migrant students need? How can service providers—such as health clinics and schools—be flexible enough to serve the changing migrant population?

- **Education**
  How can the education system be structured to ensure a high-quality, continuous, and consistent education for migrant students? (What education programs for migrant children are available in your state? Are they coordinated with schools or migrant education programs in other states where migrant children work and/or study?)

- **Law and Enforcement**
  Should existing child labor laws like the FLSA be changed to improve protection of children who work in agriculture or live in agricultural communities? If so, how should the laws be changed? If not, why not? Would having more labor inspectors to enforce laws be a solution to eliminating child labor? What other solutions might be more effective?

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CHILD LABOR IN INDIA

India has the largest absolute number of child laborers in the world. Most nongovernmental and international organizations estimate the number as falling between 44 and 55 million.[132] Other estimates claim that as many as 100 million children may be working because that many do not attend school. Out of the estimates, the majority of the child laborers work in informal sectors, in both urban and rural areas[133]—a likely situation for abusive child labor to occur.

Abusive child labor has been a part of Indian life for centuries. It is perpetuated by powerful social, cultural, and economic factors. The Indian government claims to take a proactive approach to curb abusive child labor, but many anti-child labor activists argue that not all of the governmental laws and regulations have been effective. Nongovernmental and grass-roots organizations have started their own programs to help solve the child labor dilemma.

absolute—independent of arbitrary standards of measurements (as opposed to relative)

child labor—work that is physically, mentally, and morally hazardous, exploitative, or harmful to children under 18; and work that bars children from receiving primary education

informal—not regulated or protected by law

perpetuate—to cause to last indefinitely

proactive—acting in anticipation of future problems, needs, or changes

nongovernmental—not funded or run by the government

grass-roots—the basic level of society

socioeconomic—of, relating to, or involving a combination of social and economic factors

economic reform—a government-instituted change in the structure and workings of the economy

privatization—the decrease of government ownership and control of the economy and the increase in use of market forces and private ownership

market forces—a market economy is one that is characterized by freely determined prices and the free exchange of goods and services in markets. Examples of market forces are supply, demand, inflation, etc.

The Nature of Child Labor in India

Child labor in India stems from complex causes, including socioeconomic factors, and social attitudes and traditions. Although child labor has existed in India for centuries, it became more of an international and national concern after the start of economic reforms. With the country turning to privatization of its economy, economic growth continued to lag behind population growth. As a result, there was less money available for education, health care, and other needs of a rapidly growing population.

Economic Reforms

Before India began to privatize its economy in 1991, its industries remained protected from global competition and were able to provide more stable jobs to its population. However, advocates of economic reform argued that the goods made by protected Indian manufacturers were shoddy and too expensive, and that such protection was hampering the growth of India's economy. In their opinion, this situation worked to reduce the number of jobs available to the Indian people.

Although India's economy grew faster after 1991, the benefits of the faster growth were not evenly shared. Critics claim that India's economic reforms encouraged hiring of child laborers, typically for less than what the companies paid adults. Companies that have been accused include well-known brands, as well as local manufacturers of handmade carpets and *beedis* (hand-rolled cigarettes).

Poverty

Most children work to earn money for survival. Because India is a poor country, with 40 percent of the urban population and 50 percent of the rural population living below the poverty level[134], families depend on children to bring in supplementary income. Often, however, children do not work for pay and are unpaid family labor.[135] For many of these children, school is not an option; many consider education as lackluster, insufficient, and oftentimes irrelevant to their needs and to their lives. Ironically, education is often cited by child rights activists and

international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) as one of the most important ways of helping children in abusive labor.

Sociocultural Factors

sociocultural—of, relating to, or involving a combination of social and cultural factors

caste—a division of society based on differences of wealth, inherited rank or privilege, profession, or occupation

Age-old cultural beliefs and attitudes make it difficult to stop child labor. Indian society abides by a rigid caste system that observes a strict social hierarchy. Every person belongs to a caste, each with its corresponding level of status. There is little, if any, mobility between these status groups. Those in the lowest caste are often the most exploited workers. Because this social structure is widely accepted among the Indian population, efforts (both government and private) to eradicate child labor have been at times futile. In addition to children from low castes, those who are most likely to be exploited and abused include children from poor and destitute families; migrants who are unfamiliar with local laws and language; and girls. Many child laborers fall under a combination of these categories, magnifying their risk even further.

Types of Child Labor

Child laborers in India work in a variety of jobs. Some children become bonded laborers, having to work for bosses who had given their families loans. These families had taken the loans and pledged their children's labor to repay them. There are also stories of children involved in dangerous or harmful conditions making *beedis*, quarrying rock, working as prostitutes, or being employed as maids.

Children are also heavily involved in making products for export, allowing companies to employ inexpensive labor. There also exist children working in other exploitative job situations, such as farmwork and as "street children" (selling newspapers, candy, etc.).

International Standards and Conventions

convention—an agreement between countries for regulation of matters that affect all of them

Various international standards, agreements, and programs exist to define children's rights and protect children from the "worst" forms of child labor, including:

- **International Labor Organization (ILO)**
  As a member country of the International Labor Organization (ILO), India is bound by the organization's conventions regarding labor issues, many of which deal specifically with child labor. The country, however, has not ratified the basic anti-child labor convention (No. 138), which sets a general minimum age of employment at 15 years.

  ratify—to approve and sanction formally

  In 1999, the ILO adopted Convention 182 which targets the "worst" forms of child labor—slavery, debt bondage, prostitution, pornography, forced recruitment of children for use in armed conflict, use of children in drug trafficking and other illicit activities, and all other work harmful or hazardous to the health, safety, or morality of girls and boys under 18 years of age. This convention went into force in November, 2000, and obliges member countries to focus their policies on effectively abolishing these types of child labor.

- **International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC)**
  In 1992, India was the first country to join the ILO's new International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC). IPEC offers a

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wide range of activities designed to increase understanding of child labor and implements programs to reduce child labor.

- **United Nations and other NGO Programs**
  Also in 1992, India ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which helps to generate greater public awareness of children's rights.[136] This international law guarantees the rights of every child to survival and development; protection from abuse and neglect; the right to an adequate standard of living; the right to an education; and protection from economic exploitation and dangerous labor. The Indian government also cooperates with other UN groups and numerous international NGOs regarding children's labor issues.[137] Most of these NGOs provide money for programs to help children.

India has expressed commitment to abide by international efforts to guarantee the well-being of children. In 1998, international agencies and UN-associated and private international agencies gathered in New Delhi, India, and made a joint declaration pledging to eliminate child labor.[138]

Domestic Action

National laws and programs as well as nongovernmental agencies have been established to address child labor issues in India, including:

- **Constitution**
  Adopted in 1950, India's constitution prohibits the employment of children in hazardous types of work and states the government's endeavor to provide free and compulsory education for all children aged 14 and under.

compulsory—required by law

demarcation—boundary

  Following the constitution, more specific laws protecting children have been passed. A government committee also investigated child employment in depth and made a distinction between child "employment" and "exploitation"—an important demarcation because it recognized that some types of work were acceptable for children while some were not. The committee's report was followed by the passage of the Child Labor (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986.

- **National Child Labor Projects (NCLP)**
  In 1988, the government began the National Child Labor Projects. Each project, targeting different areas, aimed to deliver the same basic services such as increasing enforcement of anti-child labor laws; creating special "nonformal" schools where working children could receive an education; vocational training; supplementary nutrition; health care; and a stipend to compensate for lost wages. The projects also included measures to improve education for parents and to increase public understanding of exploitative work.[139]

stipend—a fixed sum of money paid periodically to defray expenses

  As of 2000, the NCLP had grown to encompass 76 projects and 1,800 nonformal schools. The program has been hampered by a shortage of money, poor organization, inadequate involvement of the local community, and unrealistic expectations in education.[140]

- **Child Labor and Human Rights**
  Created by the Indian government, the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) and the National Authority on the Elimination of Child Labor aim to uphold the country's position toward human rights and to strengthen policies and programs related to child labor, respectively.

Local Action

Programs to help working children range from government schools; to projects to help families start small businesses, schools, training, and jobs programs run by NGOs. Some organizations, such as the United Nations Children's Fund and the ILO, work closely with local governments in cities, counties, towns, and villages. Other non-governmental groups, such as Oxfam or Save the Children, get their money from private donations.

- **Education Programs**
  Even though India's constitution guarantees free and compulsory education for all children aged 14 and under, in practice, education is still not compulsory, free, or universal to all children in India. Education is a source of much debate among government servants, private organizations, and others, as they argue over whether children should be allowed to attend school part-time so they may work, or they should be banned from all work so that they can attend school full-time.

  Schools that are not run by the government—so-called "nonformal" schools—fall into two categories. Some nonformal schools are set up to replace the local government school. They meet at times and places convenient to child workers. They may also teach a different curriculum from that of the government schools. The other type of nonformal school is the "bridge" school, which helps children catch up to their grade level and then return to the local government school.

  Advocates of these schools believe that this is an effective way to meet the children's immediate educational needs. Critics, however, fear that nonformal education programs that make education accessible and adapt it to accommodate children's work situations might actually encourage children to work.

- **Industry Programs**
  Employers in industries such as carpet manufacturing have initiated efforts to reduce abusive child labor and alert consumers to their work. Although these efforts have received a lot of attention in the international press, it is unclear how effective these efforts are at combating industrial child labor.

The Impact of Intervention

India still faces many challenges to eradicating child labor. Despite progress made to better the lives of these children, many issues remain unresolved, and many questions remain unanswered.

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For example:

- How can the Indian government effectively enforce international and national laws that prohibit exploitative child labor, when its own resources and infrastructure are insufficient?
- Likewise, how can the government achieve this goal when social and cultural attitudes toward child labor are deeply embedded and widely accepted by the Indian population?
- How can India take advantage of its role in a global economy without engaging its children in exploitative labor?
- What can be done to overcome government bureaucracy and corruption to guarantee that aid always reaches its intended target?
- What is a feasible solution for providing education for all children, given India's limited financial resources and enormous population?

handout #2S

CHILD LABOR IN UGANDA: A LOOK AT CHILD SOLDIERS

child labor—work that is physically, mentally, and morally hazardous, exploitative or harmful to children under 18; and work that bars children from receiving primary education

transparent—having readily available data and clarity of bank balance sheets, financial transactions, and accounting practices

market-driven economy—an economy governed by the unregulated exchange of commodities based on supply and demand; This is the opposite of a government-controlled economy.

In Uganda, children have always worked with their families or other employers under conditions ranging from beneficial and benign, to harmful and hazardous. Despite legal measures enacted to curb its existence, child labor continues to exist because of an imbalance between the size of the population and the distribution of resources, which are limited by the country's poverty. The country's civil war also complicates efforts to help children in need.

The government has adopted some general policies—including a democratic form of government; a relatively transparent and market-driven economy; and an increase in support for public schooling—geared toward reducing poverty and child labor over time. Yet, insufficient data about child labor, lack of resources, and a lack of community awareness of children's rights prevent the government from effectively enforcing any of the major laws and international agreements that prohibit child labor.

In addition, President Yoweri Museveni's credibility has been tainted by recent events such as his controversial election victory in March, 2001; and criticism of Uganda's role in the Democratic Republic of the Congo [hereafter, "the Congo"].

The Nature of Child Labor in Uganda

informal—not regulated or protected by law

Child labor in Uganda primarily involves the informal sector. Lack of research and difficulty defining what amounts to "child labor" make it hard to determine exact numbers of children working in exploitative, harmful, or hazardous conditions. School attendance data indicate that in 1996, for example, 2.8 million out of 6.6 million school-age children in Uganda were not attending school at all; it is likely that they were working instead of going to school.[141]

Ugandan children work in various jobs. They may be employed on farms, work as domestic help, peddle small items on the streets, work in the commercial sex industry, or beg for money.[142] In border areas, the smuggling industry employs large numbers of children who are hired to walk back and forth across the unguarded borders with Kenya and Tanzania, transporting small amounts of fuel, sugar, coffee, or other goods.[143]

Child Soldiers

The one form of child labor that perhaps poses the most immediate threat to children's safety and welfare is their role as civil war soldiers. Since gaining independence from Britain in 1963, Uganda has experienced constant conflict between the government and various rebel militias. Both the government and the rebel militias have recruited and trained children to fight in combat.

There are approximately 300,000 child soldiers (under age 18) fighting in different conflicts around the world, according to the international Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers. More than 40 percent of this total are in African countries. The use of child soldiers, or *kadogos*, has

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been closely followed at the international level, triggered by the 1986 event when then-guerrilla leader Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA)—joined by child soldiers as young as five years old—marched victoriously into the capital city of Kampala.[144]

According to the NRA, the civil war of 1981–1986 left so many orphans and abandoned children in its wake that it felt "obliged" to take these children in to protect them.[145] The government's army gave them self-defense training and responsibilities such as accompanying officers on missions, carrying supplies and weapons, and eventually participating in combat duty. Toward the end of the war, the NRA's escalating military activity required more soldiers, and so children were increasingly sent to the front lines to fight.[146]

For various reasons, children also voluntarily become child soldiers. Hunger and poverty drive parents to offer their children for military service. In some cases, armies pay a minor soldier's wages directly to the family.[147] Having lost their families, the children may turn to the army for food and shelter out of desperation; joining the army can guarantee regular meals, clothing, and/or medical attention. Some case studies tell of parents who encourage their daughters to become soldiers if their marriage prospects are poor.[148] Some children become soldiers so that they feel protected from the violence and chaos in their surroundings. Some enlist for adventure and excitement—to live life away from the drudgery of isolated villages or refugee camps.[149] Finally, some children join the army out of a desire to avenge the deaths of family members and other loved ones.

The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and other rebel militia have abducted children from schools, communities, and homes. The Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers estimate that around 90 percent of LRA soldiers are abducted children, and it is widely believed that the group could not operate without them.[150] Those children who attempt to escape, resist, cannot keep up, or become ill, are killed. When a child manages to escape, revenge is taken on the families and communities. Children may be trained as soldiers and used as slave labor; girls are usually given to commanders as "wives." Once trained, the children aid rebels in looting villages, abducting more children, and fighting. There is also belief that the LRA sells abducted children in return for arms.[151]

International Standards and Conventions

convention—an agreement between countries for regulation of matters that affect all of them

Various international standards, agreements, and programs exist to define children's rights and protect children from the "worst" forms of child labor. Actions taken by the Ugandan government, at the surface level, signify its commitment to abide by international efforts to guarantee the well-being of children. Examples include:

ratify—to approve and sanction formally

- **United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)**
  In 1990, Uganda ratified the CRC, which aims to establish a set of universal rights for children. Article 38 of the CRC mandates that the state must protect civilians during armed conflict and take "all feasible measures to ensure the protection and care of children who are affected by armed conflict." It also specifically forbids the

recruitment of children younger than 15 years old into the armed forces.

In May of 2000, the United Nations unanimously adopted the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict. Under this protocol, rebel groups are also required to abide by the rules, and the government must take measures to prevent illegal recruitment of children. Children aged 16 and over are allowed to volunteer for the armed forces, but only with informed parental consent and proof of age. Furthermore, children who have been recruited or used in violation of the protocol must be demobilized and given appropriate reintegration help from the government.[152] As of September, 2000, Uganda had not signed or ratified the protocol.

demobilize—to discharge from military service

reintegrate—to integrate back into (society and normal life)

- **International Labor Organization (ILO)**
  The organization has adopted conventions aimed at eliminating child labor, and in 1999, adopted Convention No. 182, which targets the worst forms of child labor: slavery, debt bondage, prostitution, pornography, forced recruitment of children for use in armed conflict, use of children in drug trafficking and other illicit activities, and all other work harmful or hazardous to the health, safety, or morality of girls and boys under 18 years of age.[153] As of April, 2001, Uganda had not ratified the convention.

- **United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)**
  UNICEF's Medium-Term Plan for 1998–2001 and its 1999 "Peace and Security Agenda for Children" identify key priorities and recommendations to:
  - protect children and end the use of children as soldiers
  - adopt and implement relevant policies and legal standards to protect children's rights
  - ensure that peace-building specifically includes children
  - challenge the impunity of war crimes, especially those committed against children
  - promote early warning and preventive action for children
  - restore normalcy in children's lives during or following conflicts

- **United Nations Security Council**
  In 1999 and 2000, the United Nations Security Council passed two resolutions specifically addressing the situation of children in armed conflict. The resolutions, numbered 1261 and 1314, are significant because the Security Council usually discusses peace and security issues in the context of specific regions or countries, not by themes like children's rights.[154] These resolutions represent a concrete plan of advocacy and action that strives to keep children at the forefront of international peace and security discussions and operations.

- **The Clean Diamonds Act Campaign**
  In Africa, much of the conflict is over the possession and control of natural resources like diamonds and gold. The United States believes that it may be well positioned to use economic pressure to curb the trade of these "conflict" diamonds because the United States imports two-thirds of the world's diamond supply. If passed, the Clean

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Diamonds Act will allow only "clean" diamonds to be imported by the U.S., as well as establish a system of controls to regulate and monitor the export of diamonds from conflict-ridden countries. It will also allow authorities to seize and sell contraband to pay for prosthetic limbs and other relief for war victims.[155]

Domestic Action

National laws and programs as well as nongovernmental agencies have been established to address child labor issues in Uganda, including:

nongovernmental—not funded or run by the government

- **Laws and Policies**
  In 1996, Uganda ratified the Children's Statute, which outlines broad protection of children and the provision of their rights. The country, however, has faced difficulty upholding these rights and abiding by other international agreements and national policies, due to limited resources, widespread poverty, entrenched cultural attitudes toward girls, poor infrastructure, a proportionally large child population, the AIDS pandemic, and persistent civil strife and armed conflict.

infrastructure—the underlying foundation or basic framework; the system of public works of a country, state, region

pandemic—occurring over a wide geographic area and affecting an exceptionally high proportion of the population

external support agency—non-Uganda-based agency that lends financial support

  Various governmental and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) work to coordinate and implement the projects and activities of the National Plan of Action for Children (NPA). In addition, international NGOs and external support agencies have played important roles in initiating and supporting programs aimed at child survival, protection, and development.

- **Education Programs**
  Uganda's Universal Primary Education (UPE) program provides free education through the seventh grade for a maximum of four children per family. Due to strained finances, instability in some areas, infrastructure problems, and inadequate teacher training, the program remains only partially implemented. Poor families cannot afford to pay for books, uniforms, and other school costs, and in families with more than four children, some children (usually girls) end up deprived of an education.

- **Special Measures to Address Civil Conflict**
  President Museveni's Presidential Amnesty exempts rebels who surrender, from prosecution, and many of them are reintegrated into the NRA. The government has also set up "protected camps" for civilians who would otherwise be vulnerable to attack in their isolated rural villages. But overcrowding, lack of food, and poor sanitation facilities pose dangerous health risks for its inhabitants. And despite the original aim of the camps, they remain targets for rebel attacks.[156]

Local Action

While international and national intervention tend to be general in nature, local measures assume many different forms and encompass different objectives.

- **Reintegration of Former Child Soldiers**
  According to Human Rights Watch, because the government at the national level does not appear to have a concrete program to

rehabilitate and reintegrate child soldiers into civilian life, the country relies on local and international NGOs to take care of this process.[157]

- **Rehabilitation: Addressing Psychological Needs**
  All child soldiers experience extreme forms of trauma, with many having grown from school age to teens knowing only military life, combat, and violence. Trauma-related stress can result in extreme social and emotional reactions. For this reason, addressing the needs of ex-child soldiers requires special consideration. For instance, children who have been rescued or have escaped from rebels live in fear of being re-abducted or killed by the rebels. Other children may need special forms of intervention and treatment because they have no family left, or have relatives who do not want them because of the crimes the children have committed.

  NGOs that provide live-in trauma counseling for the former child soldiers exist, but critics argue that such counseling based on Western mental health practices are not always effective or appropriate in all cultures.

- **Education and Vocational Training**
  Without some type of education, some believe that former child soldiers may become part of the unemployed or unemployable underclass of society.[158] UNICEF's view is that education promotes healing and social reintegration. While Uganda's Universal Primary Education program aims to provide primary education, the program does not offer secondary or vocational education.

  For those children who have spent their entire school-age years in the military, the Ugandan government established a special interim school to serve both former NRA and rebel child soldiers. Professional teachers—with special training on how to handle child soldiers—help the children transition into civilian schools.[159] Those who do not finish this school have the option of either leaving the army or getting further military training and remaining as soldiers.

- **Community Support and Involvement**
  Raising community awareness of children's issues and mobilizing the community to take action on behalf of its children have proven to be successful elements of rebuilding conflict-ridden societies and helping achieve a sense of normalcy for former child soldiers. On that note, UNICEF has suggested that programs mobilize the existing social system and train the community to embrace these children and nurture them back to emotional health.[160] The organization believes that programs should not exist independently of the community, but in collaboration with the community to ensure long-term care and follow-through for the former child soldiers.

  An example of local action, the Concerned Parents Association (CPA) sprouted from parents who felt frustration by their powerlessness over their own children's situation (their daughters had been abducted by the LRA). The group's overall objectives include the immediate and unconditional release of all abducted children; peaceful resolution of the conflicts; and increased community

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awareness of the plight of children in conflict.[161] Though it has succeeded in generating greater awareness locally and internationally, as of spring, 2001, it had not succeeded in securing the release of abductees.[162]

The Impact of Intervention

Uganda still faces many challenges to eradicating child labor. According to a 1996 report to the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Uganda suffers from "a generally low level of understanding among the people of the rights of the child and what this means in practice."[163] Programs designed to counsel and rehabilitate former child soldiers have experienced varying levels of success. Despite progress made to better the lives of these children, many issues remain unresolved, and many questions remain unanswered. For example:

- Until peace can be achieved in Uganda, what does the future hold for its children?
- How effective can any program really be—international, national, or local—if ongoing conflict continues to threaten the safety and well-being of children?
- How can the rebels be convinced not to kidnap children or recruit them as soldiers?
- How can the Ugandan government enforce international laws that forbid the recruitment of children into rebel armed forces?
- What can be done to limit the trafficking of small arms to conflict areas?

handout #3S

CHILD LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES: A LOOK AT MIGRANT FARMWORKER CHILDREN

child labor—work that is physically, mentally, and morally hazardous, exploitative, or harmful to children under 18; and work that bars children from receiving primary education

contentious—likely to cause an argument

In the United States, child labor has played a significant role in the country's development and continues to be a contentious issue to this day.

The Nature of Child Labor in the United States

With the country's industrialization in the 19th century, child labor began to rise, and by early 20th century, more than two million children worked in a variety of jobs. In most cases, children worked to support their families.

Though child labor still exists in the United States, the majority of children work not to supplement family income but rather to earn extra pocket money. Working in retail sales, food preparation, and other services, the children earn money to spend on non-essentials such as clothing or gas for their own cars.

Federal and state laws exist to clearly distinguish between what is deemed "child labor" and what is acceptable, legal work for children. For example, federal law allows 14- and 15-year-olds to work in nonhazardous jobs outside school hours.[164] In nonagricultural jobs, they can work no more than 3 hours on a school day, 18 hours in a school week, 8 hours on a non-school day, or 40 hours in a non-school week. In addition, they must not work past 7 p.m. on a school night or 9 p.m. on other nights.[165]

Despite the laws, child labor abuses occur, typically involving children who work too many hours during a school week, work past a certain hour of night, or perform dangerous tasks such as operating machinery. By one economist's estimate, in 1996, more than 290,000 children were employed illegally in the United States. Federal and state departments of labor are responsible for identifying and penalizing employers who commit such child labor abuses.

sweatshop—a business with a pattern of violating wage, safety, and child labor regulations

Of those children who work to help support their families, most are of immigrant descent, come from poor families, or have uneducated parents. Many of these children work in industries such as meat processing, construction, garment sweatshops, and agriculture. Often, these occupations pose enormous risks to their health, safety, development, and educational attainment.

Farmworker Children

regulatory—authorized by law

Out of all the different industries, agriculture is the only one that employs child farmworkers as cultivators and harvesters at a younger age, for more hours, and in more hazardous types of tasks. While most regulatory and protective child labor laws in the United States oversee other industries, the agricultural sector is considered an exception to the laws. For example, Oregon law allows children to pick berries and beans starting at age nine.[166]

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It is estimated that there are as many as 1.3 million farmworker children in the United States. Of this number, 300,000 migrate.[167] The vast majority of these migrant children are of Mexican descent. Most farmworker children work to supplement family income. Sometimes, however, parents want their children to work so they can learn about responsibility and working hard.

supplement—to add to

Children who work in agriculture are often exposed to health hazards such as toxic chemicals and pesticides, dangerous tools and machinery, extreme weather, and unsanitary work conditions. Even when children are not working, they might be present in the fields with their parents because there is no child care. Each year, 24,000 children are injured on farms and 300 die as a result of work-related accidents.[168] Agriculture is the second most dangerous occupation after mining, according to a Human Rights Watch report.

Farmworkers, including children, are paid according to the weight or amount of fruits or vegetables they harvest. Sometimes, farmworker children may be paid directly for their work; other times, their harvest may be added to that of their parents. With the majority of farmworker families earning less than $10,000 per year, added income from their children's work can be significant.[169]

Many migrant farmworker children have difficulty completing high school. Many drop out to work full-time in the fields. Those who stay in school find it hard to juggle schoolwork with fieldwork. Despite the existence of education programs for migrant children, many of these children fall behind, become discouraged, and drop out. Many of these children do not speak English at home, and their parents may be unable to help them with their studies because the parents do not speak English and have no more than a primary education. Issues such as transfer of school records and differing academic standards also add to the dilemma of schooling for migrant farmworker children.

International Standards and Conventions

convention—an agreement between countries for regulation of matters that affect all of them

Various international standards and agreements exist to define children's rights and protect children from the "worst" forms of child labor, including:

ratify—to approve and sanction formally

- **International Labor Organization (ILO)**
  In 1999, the United States ratified ILO's Convention 182 on the "worst" forms of child labor, which include work that "is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children."[170] Various groups (including farmworker organizations, human rights groups, etc.) purport that farmwork meets all criteria for the worst forms of child labor. These organizations believe that the United States does not fully comply with the convention since its laws do not protect farmworker children as vigorously as the convention requires.

- **United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)**
  This international law guarantees the rights of every child, regardless of the child's circumstances. Some of these rights include the right to survival and development; protection from abuse and neglect; the right to an adequate standard of living; the right to an education; and

protection from economic exploitation and dangerous labor. To date, the United States has not ratified this treaty.

National Action

Federal laws and programs as well as nongovernmental agencies have been established to address child labor issues in the United States, including:

- **Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA)**
  In 1938, Congress passed this act to set the minimum age for employment and to protect child laborers from exploitation. It has been argued that the FLSA does not protect farmworker children as strongly as it protects children in nonagricultural sectors. Human Rights Watch issues a report in June, 2000, saying that the FLSA "permits oppressive child labor in agriculture to continue."[171]

  Enforcing the law is also an issue of debate, as some organizations have questioned the effectiveness of governmental campaigns designed to enforce FLSA measures on the agricultural sector. For example, the FLSA contains a provision that allows Department of Labor authorities to seize products that are made with illegal child labor. However, according to a 1997 Associated Press investigation, this provision is rarely enforced.[172]

- **Department of Labor Initiatives**
  Various programs initiated by the Department of Labor have investigated agricultural violations to the federal labor laws. Other DOL initiatives include community education and awareness programs such as the "Work Safe This Summer" and "Fair Harvest/Safe Harvest" campaigns.

  Some organizations say that the effectiveness of these initiatives is temporary, for once they end, children start farmwork again because the families rely on the income.[173] Also, occupational safety provisions outlined in such programs do not affect small farms where children are most likely to work.

- **Advocacy Organizations**
  Organizations such as the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC) exist to promote and protect the rights of child workers. In addition to initiatives to prevent exploitation of child labor and improve heath and education opportunities for migrant farmworker children, these advocacy groups educate children about work and raise public awareness of child labor issues.

- **Education for Migrant Workers**
  Federal programs such as the Migrant Education Program (MEP) help state education departments serve the special needs of migrant children. The MEP provides funding to hire counselors and tutors, train teachers to work with migrant children, create drop-out prevention programs, provide medical and dental services, arrange for transportation, and support summer school programs. About 250,000 children currently participate in the MEP.[174]

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The MEP's Portable Assisted Study Sequence (PASS) and Mini-PASS programs offer secondary courses that students can take with them wherever they go. Along with a centralized system to track school records, these initiatives allow children to continue their education even while moving to new districts and states.

The Impact of Intervention

Intervention at international, national, and local levels affect migrant farmworker children in different ways. Despite progress made to better the lives of these U.S. children, many issues remain unresolved, and many questions remain unanswered. For example:

- **Services for Families**
  How can programs serving migrant children be made to serve the needs of their entire families? What can be done to provide vital services such as parent education, housing, job training, and English language instruction, to these families? Whose responsibility is it to provide these services? (What programs that help migrant laborers are in place in your state, school, district, and/or community?)

- **Population Changes**
  How do immigration laws and economic conditions impact the demographics of the migrant population? How might demographic changes affect the types of services migrant students need? How can service providers—such as health clinics and schools—be flexible enough to serve the changing migrant population?

- **Education**
  How can the education system be structured to ensure a high-quality, continuous, and consistent education for migrant students? (What education programs for migrant children are available in your state? Are they coordinated with schools or migrant education programs in other states where migrant children work and/or study?)

- **Law and Enforcement**
  Should existing child labor laws like the FLSA be changed to improve protection of children who work in agriculture or live in agricultural communities? If so, how should the laws be changed? If not, why not? Would having more labor inspectors to enforce laws be a solution to eliminating child labor? What other solutions might be more effective?

SANKAR: SURVIVING AT THE RAILWAY STATION

Walk through the railway station in almost any city in India, and children will gather around selling trinkets and food, shining shoes, offering to carry bags. On the railway platform, children sleep, eat, play, talk, and enjoy the spaces that seem so wide open compared to the cramped hovels that many formally call home.

Sankar was one of those children. Sankar, who gave his age as 10, is actually believed by his teacher to be 14 years old. He gave his name only as "Sankar," and when asked about his last name, replied, "Sankar... I can't remember my last name." He used to live with his mother near the station, but she came and went for reasons that Sankar did not know. When asked if he knew whether his mother even worked, his reply was, "I don't really know what my mother does." When his mother was out, Sankar lived with friends. Finally, he ended up living entirely at the station in an abandoned rail car.

Sankar was photographed in Bhubaneswar, the capital of the eastern state of Orissa, in the spring of 1999. Bhubaneswar is home to about 1.2 million people and is famous for its elaborate temples and crowded religious festivals.

Sankar was living at the main railway station in the center of town. The railway station is one of the city's busiest locations. Sankar, along with many other boys, made a modest living selling drinkable water in plastic water bottles. Every day, he decanted fresh water from a water cart into a tin can, and used that water to fill the plastic bottles that he sold and reused, selling them again and again. He even sold bottled water to other workers at the station.

Sankar explained, "I came to the station when I was four or five. At first, I was a beggar. Later, I collected the things that people left on the rail cars and sold them. Then, I swept up the floor of the rail car and asked for money." At the time of this interview, he was selling water and cold drinks on the trains, earning about 40–50 rupees a day. Sometimes he earned as little as 25 rupees and sometimes as much as 100 rupees.

"When I am not working," he said, "I roam around the station or sleep." The stereotype of "street children" is that they are dirty and unkempt. Sankar did not fit that image. He took showers in the public bath at the station each day. Asked what he enjoys in life, he smiled and said, "Movies!"

Sankar also attended a school, nicknamed the "platform school," run by the Ruchika Social Service Organization. It is a nonformal, nongovernment school that broadly follows the government-prescribed curriculum but with a radically different approach to teaching and learning. Street children like Sankar are often unable to go back to a formal, government school. Most are behind in their studies and often are embarrassed to be in classes with much younger children. Sometimes they cannot afford the cost of books or uniforms—although some children who work use their incomes to pay for those expenses themselves.

Education has long been considered one of the chief ways of helping children who must work for a living. But among the children at the railway station, many work because the local education system has failed them in some way: it is too expensive, too far away, the teacher is absent, or they don't think that going to school will help them get ahead in life. Some live near the station but spend most of their time there. Others have left home entirely because of their families' poverty, or because their parents have abused them, or for other reasons.

The platform school was started by a teacher, Inderjit Khurana. In the 1980s, she ran a school for middle-class children. But every day, she noticed the ragged children working and hanging

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around the station every day. She realized that the children would not come to the regular school, and so she decided to take the school to them.

On April 7, 1985, after getting permission from the station authorities, she started the school. She sat down on the platform and called the children over. "While working," she said, "We keep a very low profile. However, no matter when we danced and sang with the children, we had the entire postal office standing outside to watch us, and we had just about everyone watching us, you know people getting on trains, getting off trains, everybody was watching us."

Short classes in writing, reading, and other subjects were interspersed with singing and dancing. Every day there is a puppet show which doubles as a lesson about health care.

After a while, she needed to do something else to define her spot on the platform as a "school." "We just made chalk lines and we said 'this is our school, our platform school,'" Khurana said. "And as long as you keep outside the chalk lines, you can watch us, but don't come inside the chalk lines because that's our own private school." After several years, she started other schools in other railway stations. There are now 12 platform schools and 122 nonformal education centers, reaching out to 4,000 children. Schools in three towns were shut down after all the children had been transferred to regular schools. These stations are now "child labor free."

But teaching the children is not easy. "There are many tragic cases. Many children go off on the train and never return," Khurana said. "Some children's feet were cut off ... or their arms are cut off," in accidents. Some children become drug addicts. Or they contract serious diseases, such as tuberculosis.

Still, the platform schools operate six days a week.

The station is noisy. Indian music plays constantly, either on a radio or on the public address system. Occasionally, a woman's voice announces: "The Coromandel Express will be arriving shortly, at 11:05." The Coromandel Express is one of the busiest trains between Kolkatte (Calcutta) and Chennai (Madras). The platform school uses the map of the railway to help children learn about Indian geography and history.

Children who work at railway stations often jump trains and go elsewhere. They are extremely independent, Khurana says, and so they often pick up and leave at a moment's notice. By the summer of 2000, Sankar had moved to another station.

In 2001, Khurana said, Sankar, now 16, had married a 14-year-old girl. They lived at the next train station. Sankar's father-in-law helped him buy a small shop where he could sell candy and confections, but Sankar continued to sell water every day because he enjoyed the regular income it brought in. Sankar no longer attended the platform school's education program but dropped in regularly.

SHARON, AGE 13

This story has been compiled from interviews and testimonies of a former child soldier who had escaped from rebel captivity. The research was conducted by the Human Rights Watch Children's Rights Project in Uganda, with the cooperation of NGOs that operate the trauma counseling centers where the children were staying. It is important to note that this story is somewhat atypical because most abducted children never succeed in escaping from the rebels.

I was abducted while my mother and I were going to the field. ... One of the other abducted girls tried to escape but she was caught. The rebels told us that she had tried to escape and must be killed. They made the new children kill her. They told us that if we escaped, they would kill our families.

They made us walk for a week. ... Some of the smaller children could not keep up, as we were walking so far without resting, and they were killed. ... Some of the children died of hunger. I felt lifeless seeing so many children dying and being killed. I thought I would be killed.

When we got to Sudan, I saw some children there that I knew from my village. They had also been abducted earlier. Our group was divided into four smaller groups of about a hundred people. I was the youngest in my group. I was twelve. Others were about thirteen or fourteen years old. They trained us in how to use guns, and the names of all the gun parts. The camp in Sudan was large. There were about a thousand people there. I stayed there for three months. Most of the time I was just made to work—like digging for potatoes.

I haven't been home since I was abducted, and I don't know where my family is. I met my cousin in Gulu and she told me that after I escaped, my uncle was killed. She said my mother and family ran away.

I want to finish my course in tailoring here, and try to look for a place to stay in Gulu town. I won't go home—I think I would be abducted again, and maybe killed.

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SUSAN, AGE 16

This story has been compiled from interviews and testimonies of a former child soldier who had escaped from rebel captivity. The research was conducted by the Human Rights Watch Children's Rights Project in Uganda, with the cooperation of NGOs that operate the trauma counseling centers where the children were staying. It is important to note that this story is somewhat atypical because most abducted children never succeed in escaping from the rebels.

One boy tried to escape, but he was caught. They made him eat a mouthful of red pepper, and five people were beating him. His hands were tied, and then they made us, the other new captives, kill him with a stick. I felt sick. I knew this boy from before. We were from the same village. I refused to kill him and they told me they would shoot me. They pointed a gun at me, so I had to do it. They boy was asking me, "Why are you doing this?" I said I had no choice. After we killed him, they made us smear his blood on our arms. I felt dizzy. There was another dead body nearby, and I could smell the body. I felt so sick. They said we had to do this so we would not fear death and so we would not try to escape.

I spent three months in Uganda and three months in Sudan with the rebels. In Uganda, we were made to do a lot of hard work—getting rice, pounding rice, hulling rice, stealing food, and gathering wild leaves and preparing food. We were always hungry. There was never enough food. Most people in the villages we passed through had run away.

On the way to Sudan we passed so many dead bodies of people who had died along the way—people who died of hunger, or sickness, or were killed.

One week after I was abducted I was given to a man called Abonga. He was thirty years old. Two girls were given to him. He was trying to be nice to me, to make me feel happy and not want to run away, but all I wanted to do was go home. I was taken away from him when I got to Sudan because I had syphilis. They said they wanted to give me treatment, but I refused—I did not trust them and thought that they might try to hurt me, and I felt fine anyway. Because I had syphilis, I was not given to another man in Sudan. Instead I was kept separately and guarded because they thought I would give the sickness to others.

No one was allowed to have free relationships there. If they caught a boy and a girl together they would shoot you in public. The only relationships they allowed were the ones that they forced on you.

I feel so bad about the things that I did. ... It disturbs me so much—that I inflicted death on other people. ... When I go home I must do some traditional rites because I have killed. I must perform these rites and cleanse myself. I still dream about the boy from my village who I killed. I see him in my dreams, and he is talking to me and saying I killed him for nothing, and I am crying.

Reprinted from Human Rights Watch/Africa and Human Rights Watch Children's Rights Project (1997): 1, 23, 29, 50.

child's story #2c

WILLIAM, AGE 10

This story has been compiled from interviews and testimonies of a former child soldier who had escaped from rebel captivity. The research was conducted by the Human Rights Watch Children's Rights Project in Uganda, with the cooperation of NGOs that operate the trauma counseling centers where the children were staying. It is important to note that this story is somewhat atypical because most abducted children never succeed in escaping from the rebels.

It was at seven p.m. We were in the house, and two of us were abducted. It was me and my brother. My mother was crying and they beat her. She was weak and I do not know if she is all right at all.

They beat us, then they made me carry some radios and carry the commander's gun. It was heavy and at first I was afraid it would shoot off in my arms, but it was not filled with ammunition. We joined a big group and walked very far, and my feet were very swollen. If you said that you were hurting they would say, "Shall we give this young boy a rest?" But by a "rest" they meant they would kill you, so if you did not wish to die you had to say you did not need a rest.

Many children tried to escape and were killed. They made us help. I was afraid and I missed my mother. But my brother was very strong-hearted and he told me we must have courage, we will not die, so I kept going.

I am afraid to go back home to my village, because the rebels are still there in plenty. I fear they will kill me if they come to know of me here. I was in primary three when I was abducted, and I would like to go back to school, if there is somewhere that is safe. I don't know. I am sad now. The other thing I would like to say is that I experienced the deaths of many children. I wish there could be a solution.

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TIMOTHY, AGE 14

This story has been compiled from interviews and testimonies of a former child soldier who had escaped from rebel captivity. The research was conducted by the Human Rights Watch Children's Rights Project in Uganda, with the cooperation of NGOs that operate the trauma counseling centers where the children were staying. It is important to note that this story is somewhat atypical because most abducted children never succeed in escaping from the rebels.

We walked very long distances. All I could think about was home and being with my family. Sometimes there were helicopter attacks (by government forces). I was injured: my skin and my chest and arms were burned during an attack. Many children were killed, and others lost legs from bombs.

After we crossed into Sudan, we went to a place called Kit where they trained us. Kony [the leader of the Lord's Resistance Army] told us we would go back to Uganda and overthrow the government—we were trained how to attack vehicles, and how to shoot.

Kony would tell us that we would overthrow the government. People should be happy and wait for that day to come. He also warned us that if we were caught becoming friendly with any girl, we would be killed together—the boy and the girl. He also warned us that if we tried to escape we would be killed.

After my training, I was given a gun: an AK47. I had to carry it on my right shoulder at all times. It was so heavy. The loaded magazine made it so heavy. For a while, my right arm was paralyzed from the weight, and the skin on my shoulder burned from carrying it. I had chest pains. I was also given things to carry like cans of water.

I was good at shooting. I went for several battles in Sudan. The soldiers on the other side would be squatting, but we would stand in a straight line. The commanders were behind us. They would tell us to run straight into gunfire. The commanders would stay behind and would beat those of us who would not run forward. You would just run forward shooting your gun. I don't know if I actually killed any people, because you really can't tell if you're shooting people or not. I might have killed people in the course of the fighting. ... I remember the first time I was in the front line. The other side started firing, and the commander ordered us to run towards the bullets. I panicked. I saw others falling down around me. The commanders were beating us for not running, for trying to crouch down. They said if we fall down, we would be shot and killed by the soldiers.

In Sudan we were fighting the Dinkas, and other Sudanese civilians. I don't know why we were fighting them. We were just ordered to fight.

I don't know what I will do in the future. Since I've been here [at the trauma counseling center], I haven't seen my family, and am sad that they haven't come. I don't know anything about them—I have no news. I can't go home. I'll be re-abducted and killed straightaway. At least here, I feel safer than at home. I dream at night of being re-abducted, or that I am still a captive, walking somewhere.

Reprinted from Human Rights Watch/Africa and Human Rights Watch Children's Rights Project (1997): 1, 20, 25, 49.

child's story #3

WORKING IN LA FRESA

BY JOSÉ LUIS RIOS, AGE 9

Picking crops is very hard work. The hours are long and the positions uncomfortable and awkward. While some growers treat their workers well, others pay poorly, withhold earned pay, or do not adhere to pesticide and sanitary regulations. By coming in contact with crops that have been sprayed with pesticides as well as with pesticides that drift from nearby fields and from spraying planes, fieldworkers are exposed to hazardous chemicals and risk developing acute skin and eye problems, chronic headaches, and cancer. Despite these problems, fieldworkers generally keep a positive attitude. The pay is better than in Mexico, and obtaining work is uncertain, so migrant workers want to ensure that they and their families will be hired again.

Nearly 20 percent of all pickers are under 18 years of age. Agriculture is the only industry in the United States that legally employs children under 16. Because families need the money and because parents have no one at home to take care of their children, young children are seen beside their parents picking crops, arranging strawberries in a box, or tying up packages of vegetables. If children are under the legal age limits (10 for strawberries and potatoes and 12 for all other crops), they are not considered to be working but rather "helping out."

Nine-year-old José Luis Rios lives with his large extended family in a small house in Las Lomas, California. All of his relatives work in the fields, including his brothers and sisters. José Luis is often taken out of school to work alongside his family. The owner of the land where the Rios family works has been charged by the investigators of the Labor Department for violating some 60 provisions of the federal Migrant and Seasonal Agricultural Worker Protection Act.

My name is José Luis Rios, and I am in third grade. I have nine brothers and sisters. We live with our parents and aunt and uncle and cousins in Las Lomas. My grandparents live in Michoacán, Mexico. If they were here right now, I'd ask them to come and visit because I don't know them. My parents told me they used to work in the fields picking strawberries, garbanzos, lentils, and corn. All my relatives that I can think of work in the fields.

My parents work in la fresa [the strawberries] and la mora [the raspberries], and my mom sometimes packs mushrooms. During the week, they leave in the morning around six o'clock. I go and help them, mostly on weekends. I help pick the strawberries and put them in boxes. Last year my father took me to the fields a lot during the week, too, instead of bringing me to school. I would find out I was going because he would say, "Let's go pick strawberries now." I like going to the fields with my family because it is pretty out there.

The longest day in the field was when we picked a lot of strawberries. I felt bad and it was getting dark. We were out there so long. I said to my parents, "Let's go home," and finally they said, "We're going." It was hard to work so long. My body gets tired, and when it is muddy, my feet get covered with mud and it is hard to walk. Also, when it is muddy, my uncle has to park the truck far away, and I get tired and cold when I have to walk back to the truck.

My parents can't always find work. Usually there is work in the summer, so then I help my father every day in the fields. I have to pull up the grass around the strawberries, and I pick. I have to bend over. I bend over for a long time. When I work in the fields with my father, I eat strawberries and he gives me frijoles [beans] sometimes when we stop to eat. We rest, and then we go back to work.

Sometimes when I'm there, my aunt and uncle that live with us are in the fields working. My cousins are there, too. I play with my cousin Andreas. He is seven. I like to play with him

because he is a buena gente [good person]. We play tag in the fields. My brothers work in the fields but not usually my sisters. They go to school. Rogelio, my little brother who's two, comes to the fields, but he just plays. He doesn't make any trouble.

When I work in the fields, I don't get paid. I don't want them to pay me because it's not good. They pay my parents for what I pick. I like that my parents get paid because then they buy me toy cars and trucks or maybe a bicycle. My brothers get paid. Ignacio is eighteen, and he works during the week. He doesn't go to school now, but he used to go to high school. Manuel is the oldest, and he works in the fields in Salinas. I want to work in the fields like my brothers when I'm older because I can eat a lot of strawberries and out there you can watch the birds.

But sometimes it is hard and I'm tired in school on Mondays because I worked on the weekend. I also get a lot of bad headaches, so sometimes I have to leave school early or go and rest in the nurse's office. When my father took me to the fields last year during the week, it was hard to study when I got home because I was tired. It is hard to work and go to school at the same time.

I like [to] come to school better than working in the fields. I go to school on the bus at seven-thirty. I like going to school to learn because then you know things. If you don't know anything and you go somewhere and somebody asks you to write something, you won't be able to. And when you're older you won't know anything. The people who haven't gone to school, they work in the fields.

I'm trying to learn English at school, but I like to speak Spanish because I am understood better. I have more friends that speak Spanish than English. My parents tell me to study English, but I like studying the Native Americans best because they wrote, they did drawings and they hunted buffaloes. I like the Mayans. They made houses so the water couldn't get in when it rained. In school I like to write, too. I write about the birds because they are pretty and they fly. And I like to write about sheep and animals and also the Ninja turtles.

When I get home from school, I have cookies. I eat most of my meals at school. My older brothers and sisters are there when I get home. They take care of me because my parents are working in the fields. My big sisters Carmela and Amelia help me with my homework and make cookies and coffee. Sometimes we take the strawberries from the fields home to eat. We make fresa molida—it's a kind of milkshake. Sometimes I take care of my little brothers and sister. I give them coffee and cookies. I have to watch out when I take care of them because cars come up our driveway and they could hit them. That's what happened to my little cousin. And sometimes we play right by the driveway. I play marbles with my brother Carlos and my cousin Jorge. I like to play hide-and-seek with my little sister Maria. My favorite place to hide is in the car.

When I'm bigger, I want to be a fieldworker and work in the strawberries because I like to work, and I want to do lots of other stuff. I would like to live for a time in Mexico, so I could know it. I would like to know my grandparents. I think it is different there, because there are more strawberries. If I had money when I'm older, I'd buy food, like milk, and other things. I don't want to have children when I grow up because then I'll have to give them money. But if I did, I would want them to work in la fresa.

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presentation checklist

Each final presentation must include the following items. Use this checklist to make sure you have integrated all of the required information. Your teacher will use the same checklist to grade your work.

Group A

- ☐ Map of the country that shows its location within the larger continent
- ☐ Map of the country that shows major cities
- ☐ Key data about the country and why these facts are relevant to child labor discussions.
- ☐ Additional images (Group #2A has created its own)
- ☐ Child's letter to his or her employer

Group B

- ☐ Outline of the section titled "The Nature of Child Labor in (your group's country)."
- ☐ List of acronyms in the handout
- ☐ A word/image collage that depicts the Child's Story and the state of child labor in his or her country

Group C

- ☐ Timeline of key legislation and events that highlight different types of intervention, past and present
- ☐ An analysis of how the child's situation (from the child's story) has been impacted by various methods of intervention
- ☐ Name and mission statement of the community program you created

Groups A, B, and C

- ☐ 5-minute community awareness skit

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presentation questionnaire

Take a few moments to read through these questions. While groups are presenting, take notes and pay special attention to information that might be helpful for you in answering these questions. After the group has finished presenting, you will have time to write your answers down.

Name of Group:_____

Presentation Topic:_____

1. List three key facts about the country and why these facts are relevant to child labor discussions.

2. Identify and explain two causes or characteristics of child labor in that country.

3. List and explain one example of intervention at the international level and its impact on child labor.

4. List and explain one example of intervention at the national level and its impact on child labor.

5. List and explain one example of intervention at the local level and its impact on child labor.

6. What part of the Child's Story made the biggest impression on you? Explain.

endnotes

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[60] Ibid.
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[62] Ibid, p. 6.
[63] Ibid, p. 5.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid, Section 5.
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[68] Ibid, pp. 4–5.
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[100] Ibid.
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[108] Rothenberg, p. 286.
[109] Rothenberg, p. 284.
[110] "C182 Worst Forms." Online; and Human Rights Watch, *Fingers to the Bone.* Online.
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[113] Human Rights Watch, *Fingers to the Bone.* Online.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.
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[124] Human Rights Watch, *Fingers to the Bone.* Online.
[125] Belsie.
[126] National Child Labor Committee. Online.
[127] Rothenberg, p. 286.
[128] "What Are the PASS and Mini PASS Programs?" Online.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Pindus, et al., p. 4.
[132] United States Embassy. Online.
[133] Ibid.
[134] United States. *1999 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: India,* Section 6d.
[135] *Child Labour: Targeting the Intolerable.* Online.
[136] Mishra, p. 193.
[137] United States, p. 1.
[138] Mishra, p. 12.
[139] Mishra, p. 197.
[140] "Elementary Ideas: Methods of Non-Formal Education." Online.
[141] "Initial Reports of States Parties." Section VIIIA2.229.
[142] United States. *1999 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Uganda,* Section 6d.
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[144] "Child Soldiers." *The Economist,* p. 4.
[145] Dodge, p. 51.
[146] Ibid, p. 52.

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[147] Brett, et al., p. 33.
[148] Brett, et al., p. 34.
[149] Maier, p. 4.
[150] "Africa Report: Uganda." Online; United States. *Uganda Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1998*. Online.
[151] *The Scars of Death*, p. 2.
[152] Ibid, pp. 1–2.
[153] "Stop the Use of Child Soldiers! The Child Soldiers Protocol." Online.
[154] "Placing Children on the World's Peace and Security Agenda," p. 1. Online.
[155] United States. House of Representatives. Online.
[156] *The Scars of Death*, p. 5.
[157] "Children Abducted by the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda." Online.
[158] "Child and Young Adult Soldiers." Online.
[159] "Initial Reports of States Parties." Section VIIA2.229.
[160] Machel, Section IIG3.183(c).
[161] "The Concerned Parents' Association." Online.
[162] Ibid.
[163] "Initial Reports of States Parties." Section IX289.
[164] Mendoza. "1938 Law to Protect Working Children."
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[166] Ibid.
[167] Rothenberg, p. 276.
[168] Mendoza. "1938 Law to Protect Working Children."
[169] Herman, p. 53.
[170] "C182 Worst Forms." Online; Human Rights Watch, *Fingers to the Bone*. Online.
[171] Human Rights Watch, *Fingers to the Bone*. Online.
[172] Mendoza. "A Government in Denial."
[173] Mull. Interview. 1999, Online.
[174] Rothenberg, p. 286.

APPENDICES

LESSON ONE: IMAGES OF CHILD LABOR

(corresponding transparencies packaged separately)

1	© ILO/M. Dorigny	Surrounded by adults, a small child works on a farm. Country: United States Type(s) of child labor depicted: • agricultural work
2	© ILO/M. Schapira/BIT	A young boy works on a farm. Country: Brazil Type(s) of child labor depicted: • agricultural work
3	© ILO/David Browne	A 12-year old child soldier. Country: Liberia Type of child labor depicted: • child soldier

4	© ILO/J. Maillard 8510	A young girl washes dishes by the pond. Country: Nepal Type(s) of child labor depicted: • domestic work • girls' work • bonded labor
5	© UNICEF/92-0641/Roger Lemoyne	Two girls carry water to their homes in a camp for people who have lost their homes. Country: Cambodia Type(s) of child labor depicted: • domestic work • girls' work
6	© ILO/J. Maillard	A mother and her daughters collect and carry firewood. Country: Senegal Type(s) of child labor depicted: • domestic work • girls' work

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7	© ILO/Lissac 97	A young girl works as a bonded laborer in a brick kiln. Country: India Type(s) of child labor depicted: • bonded labor • industrial work
8	© ILO/Lissac 96	A young mine worker carries a heavy load. Country: Bolivia Type(s) of child labor depicted: • industrial work • bonded labor
9	© UNICEF/92-0946/M. Kawanaka	Two girls work on looms at a carpet factory in Kathmandu. Country: Nepal Type(s) of child labor depicted: • industrial work • bonded labor

10	© ILO/J. Maillard 1990	A young girl picks through trash at a garbage dump, hoping to find sellable items. Country: Philippines Type(s) of child labor depicted: • street work/scavenging
11	© UNICEF/HQ89-0052/ Giles Vauclair	A small boy sleeps atop a stool, where he was helping to make softballs; part of the work he does with his family in their home. Country: Honduras Type(s) of child labor depicted: • work for the family • industrial work
12	© ILO/J. Maillard	A young child plays the accordion on the sidewalk. Country: Poland Type(s) of child labor depicted: • street work • forced labor

13	© ILO/J. M. Derrien, 1998	A young boy works with heavy tools in a small shop. Country: India Type(s) of child labor depicted: • industrial work
14	© ILO/J. M. Derrien, 1998	A young boy shines shoes to earn money. Country: Indonesia Type(s) of child labor depicted: • street work

LESSON THREE:
SANKAR: SURVIVING AT THE RAILWAY STATION

(corresponding transparencies packaged separately)

© Brian Finke/The Photo Project	Sankar (right) sits on the step of an unused rail car, which is also his home. Sankar and the other boys in the picture call the railway platform home.
© Brian Finke/The Photo Project	Sankar fills a can with water from a freshwater cart. He will use the water in the can to fill plastic bottles. The boys scavenge used plastic bottles from the train and each boy fiercely guards his store of "empties."
© Brian Finke/The Photo Project	Sankar sells a bottle of water to a woman porter or saleswoman, who balances a basket on her head during the transaction.

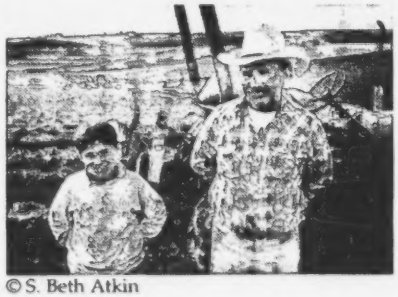
From "Child Labor and the Global Village: Photography for Social Change." By permission of The Photo Project.

© Brian Finke/The Photo Project	Sankar showers in the railway station's public bath. Despite the image of street children as unclean, Sankar—like most Indians—tries to shower once a day.
© Brian Finke/The Photo Project	A street child student leans on his elbow on the concrete railway station platform as he writes his lesson on a blackboard with chalk.
© Brian Finke/The Photo Project	Sankar peers over his friend's shoulder as he looks at his workbook. Another student sits cross-legged on the platform, looking at his own book.

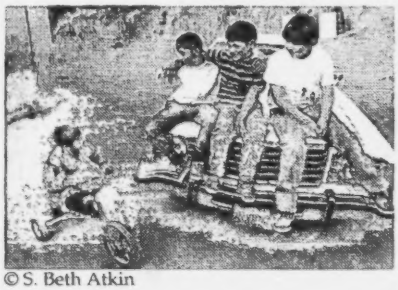
From "Child Labor and the Global Village: Photography for Social Change." By permission of The Photo Project.

LESSON THREE: WORKING IN LA FRESA

(corresponding transparencies packaged separately)

©S. Beth Atkin	Helping out in the strawberry fields.
©S. Beth Atkin	Helping out in the strawberry fields.
 ©S. Beth Atkin	Taking a break with his father.

From *Voices From the Fields* by S. Beth Atkin. Copyright © 1993 by S. Beth Atkin. By permission of Little, Brown and Company, Inc.

©S. Beth Atkin	José Luis and his family.
 ©S. Beth Atkin	Joking with his brothers and cousin.
©S. Beth Atkin	José Luis proudly displaying his Aztec school project.

From *Voices From the Fields* by S. Beth Atkin. Copyright © 1993 by S. Beth Atkin. By permission of Little, Brown and Company, Inc.

additional resources

Use any of these recommended Additional Resources to supplement this curriculum and to enhance your students' learning experience. These resources can be used in a variety of ways for further research and extension activities. The lists are categorized as follows:

- Nonfiction Books
- Fiction Books
- Video Resource List
- Video Distributors
- Video Discussion Questions
- Suggested Field Trips
- Internet Resources

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Cahn, Rhoda and William. *No Time for School, No Time for Play: The Story of Child Labor in America*. New York: Julian Messner, 1972. ASIN: 0671325515.
(Out-of-print, but available in libraries and bookstores dealing in out-of-print books.)

Colman, Penny. *Mother Jones and the March of the Mill Children*. Connecticut: Millbrook Press, 1995. ASIN: 1562944029. (Elementary level)
(Out-of-print, but available in libraries and bookstores dealing in out-of-print books.)

Goldberg, Vicki. *Lewis W. Hine: Children at Work*. International Book Import Service, Inc., 1999. ISBN: 3791321560.

Gutman, Judith. *Lewis W. Hine and the American Social Conscience*. New York: Walker, 1967.
(Out-of-print, but available in libraries and bookstores dealing in out-of-print books.)

Freedman, Russell. *Kids at Work: Lewis Hine and the Crusade Against Child Labor*. New York: Clarion Books, 1994. ISBN: 0395587034.

Hawes, Joseph M. *The Children's Rights Movement: A History of Advocacy and Protection*. Boston: Twayne Publishers/Division of G. K. Hall & Co., 1991.
(Out-of-print, but available in libraries and bookstores dealing in out-of-print books.)

Hine, Lewis Wickes, and Judith Mara Gutman. *Lewis W. Hine, 1874–1940: Two Perspectives*. ICP Library of Photographers; Vol. 4. ASIN: 067042742X.
(Out-of-print, but available in libraries and bookstores dealing in out-of-print books.)

Kielburger, Craig, with contributor Kevin Major. *Free the Children: A Young Man Fights Against Child Labor and Proves that Children Can Change the World*. (New York: Harper Perennial Library, 1999). ISBN: 0060930659.

Knight, William James. *The World's Exploited Children: Growing Up Sadly*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Affairs, Monograph #4, March 1980.

Kuklin, Susan. *Iqbal Masih and the Crusaders Against Child Slavery*. New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 1998. ISBN: 0805054596.

Meltzer, Milton. *Cheap Raw Material: How Our Youngest Workers Are Exploited and Abused*. New York: Viking Press, 1994. ISBN: 067083128X (Young adult level).

Moffard, Juliet H., ed. *Child Labor in America*. Perspectives on History Series. Carlisle, MA:, Discovery Enterprises, Ltd., 1997. ISBN: 1878668986 (All grades).

Stein, R. Conrad. *The Story of Child Labor Laws, (Cornerstones of Freedom)*. Cornerstones of Freedom Series. Chicago: Children's Press, , 1984. ASIN: 0516046799.
(Out-of-print, but available in libraries and bookstores dealing in out-of-print books.)

Trattner, Walter I. *Crusade for the Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America*. Chicago: Quadrangle, 1970. ASIN: 081290141X.
(High school/Adult level)
(Out-of-print, but available in libraries and bookstores dealing in out-of-print books.)

Weisman Deitch, JoAnne B., ed. *The Lowell Mill Girls: Life in the Factory*. Carlisle, M.A., Discovery Enterprises, Ltd., 1991. ISBN: 1579600417.

fiction books

Anderson, Hans Christian. *The Little Match Girl.*
Many editions, including one set in the United States. Hans Christian Anderson's classic story tells about a poor girl who leaves home on a freezing New Year's Eve to try to sell matches.

Collier, James Lincoln, and Christopher Collier. *The Clock.* New York: Delacorte Press, 1992/Econo-Clad Books, 1999. ISBN: 0785754113 (Elementary/Middle school level).
This is the story of Annie Steel, a 15-year-old girl who leaves the family farm to work in the town's new textile mill at the start of the Industrial Revolution.

Dickens, Charles. *Adventures of Oliver Twist.* Many editions, including Oxford: Oxford University Press (Trade), 1987. ISBN: 0192545051 (High School level).
Oliver Twist, an orphan pauper child in 19th-century England, is put to work so that the parish will not have to pay for his upkeep.

McCully, Emily Arnold. *The Bobbin Girl.* New York: Dial Press, 1996. ISBN: 0803718276 (Elementary level).
Rebecca, a 10-year-old bobbin girl in a mill in Lowell, MA, in the 1930s, leads coworkers out on strike.

Peck, Robert Newton. *Arly.* New York: Walker and Co., 1989. ASIN: 0590434691.
(Out-of-print, but available in libraries and bookstores dealing in out-of-print books.)
Arly Poole is a field worker in Jailtown, Florida, where his family lives in 1927. Arly's world changes when a schoolteacher comes to town.

Paterson, Katherine. *Lyddie.* New York: Lodestar/Puffin, 1991, 1992. ISBN: 0140349812 (Middle school level).
After Lyddie Worthen's father abandons the family, the girl's mother hires her out to pay his debts.

Stoler, Sigmund. *Working in Darkness—A Play About Coal Mining.* Carlisle, MA: Discovery Enterprises, Ltd., 1996. ISBN: 1878668668 (Middle/High school level).
This play is set in a coal-mining town in the 1900s. It illustrates the rise of coal miners' unions in light of the dangerous nature of the work.

Williams, Sherley Anne. *Working Cotton.* New York: Voyager/Harcourt Brace, 1992. ISBN: 0152014829 (Elementary level).
This book provides a child's view of a long day's work in the cotton fields and an introduction to migrant family life. A Caldecott Honor & Coretta Scott King Honor Book.

All of these videos and films should be used with teacher guides and background materials that can bring events up to date with the latest news. These videos are arranged in reverse chronological order. For the videos that do not come with a teacher guide, use the list of general questions provided at the end of this section. For information on obtaining any of these videos, consult the list of distributors in the Appendices section *Video Distributors*.

1. ***Born to Bondage: Women in India***
   - Directed by: Marion Mayer-Hohdahl for Journeyman Pictures
   - Length: 40 minutes
   - Grade level: Not rated
   - Description: The life of Indian women is often difficult, even at the end of the 20th century. Pasupathy, an 11-year-old girl, spends the day kneeling at a factory bench gluing together matchstick boxes, earning 25 cents per thousand boxes. The bulk of the film is about the condition of women in India, but the point is made that girls often have to work and marry young.
   - Distributor: Filmakers Library

2. ***Going Home (Guinea)***
   - Directed by: Emily Marlow
   - Produced by: Jenny Richards, Television Trust for Environment , 1999 Produced in association with the Commission of the European Communities and WITNESS.
   - Length: 31 minutes, Color
   - Grade level: High school/Adult
   - Description: A 10-year-old soldier escapes rebel forces in Sierra Leone. (ISBN: 1-56029-803-0)
   - Reviews/Info: Available at: <http://www.bullfrogfilms.com/catalog/goh.html>
   - Distributor: Bullfrog Films

3. ***Lost Futures***
   - Produced by: American Federation of Teachers, 1999
   - Length: 16 minutes
   - Grade level: Middle school
   - Description: This video accompanies the American Federation of Teachers curriculum on child labor.
   - Distributor: American Federation of Teachers, International Affairs Department,

4. ***Tapoori: Children of Bombay***
   - Directed by: Alan Handel
   - Length: 26 minutes
   - Grade level: Not rated
   - Description: Two street boys in Bombay—Subra, 14, and Anwar, 16—try to survive. Subra has been living at the Victoria Railway Station for three years. He survives through toughness, guile and hard work, but since he is small he has to pay off the older boys for protection. The film follows Subra as he decides whether to stay on the streets where he is lonely and vulnerable, or return home to his village and family, where in the past he had been beaten by his father. Anwar is 16 years old and has been living on the streets of Bombay's red light district since he lost both his parents when he was eight. The other street boys are Anwar's family now. They earn money by picking trash from the streets and selling what they find at the market. To escape their dreary life, they inhale glue, patronize the local prostitutes, and visit the video parlors. While there are some social

workers that reach out to them, there is little that can be done to improve their lives.
Distributor: Filmakers Library

5. ***That's Why I'm Working***
Produced by: Maarten Schmidt and Thomas Doebele, 1999
Length: 53 minutes, Color
Grade level: Not rated
Description: This video presents child workers in Bangladesh and their struggles to stay in school.
Distributor: First Run/Icarus Films

6. ***Discipline with Dignity (Nepal)***
Directed by: Mohan Mainali and Mohan Bista
Produced by: Nepal Forum for Environmental Journalists with TVE
Produced in association with the Commission of the European Communities and WITNESS, 1998/1999
Length: 30 minutes, Color
Grade level: High school/Adult
Description: This video depicts the attempt to end corporal punishment in Nepalese schools. (ISBN: 1-56029-804-9)
Reviews/Info: Available at: <http://www.bullfrogfilms.com/catalog/disc.html>
Distributor: Bullfrog Films

7. ***It Takes a Child: Craig Kielburger's Story—A Journey into Child Labour***
Directed by: Judy Jackson.
Produced by: Judy Films, 1998
Length: 56 minutes, Color (in two parts for classrooms)
Grade level: Upper elementary/Middle school/High school/Adult
Description: Fifteen-year-old child labor activist, Craig Kielburger, works for reform around the world. (ISBN: 1-56029-783-2)
Distributor: Bullfrog Films

8. ***Child Labor: The Despair and the Hope***
Produced by: International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC), 1998
Length: 8.5 minutes
Grade level: Not rated
Description: This video highlights strategies to eliminate child labor.
Distributor: International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC)

9. ***Ajit***
Produced by: Arvind Sinha, 1997
Length: 28 minutes, Color
Grade level: Not rated
Description: An eight-year-old boy from Bihar is a servant in a Calcutta home. He is happy to work, he says, because he gets enough to eat. He has no time for school but watches TV a lot. His cheerfully recounted dream of becoming a bandit in the future seems shaped by what he sees, although filmmaker allows viewer to make judgment. His parents are sorry that he, one of nine children, doesn't live with them, but they feel resigned because of their poverty. Screened at Berlin Film Festival, 1996; International Documentary Festival, Amsterdam, 1996; Birmingham International Film Festival, 1996.
Distributor: Filmakers Library

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10. *We Are Not Beggars*
    - Directed by: Wen-jie Qin, 1997
    - Length: 30 minutes, Color
    - Grade level: Not rated
    - Description: Four children perform gymnastic tricks on the streets in a Chinese city (Chengdu) to supplement their family's meager income. They say, "We learned these skills and we are using them. We are not beggars." The film non-judgmentally shows a range of responses from local people, from approval to disapproval.
    - Distributor: Documentary Educational Resources

11. *I Am a Child*
    - Produced by: International Labor Office, 1996
    - Length: 52 minutes
    - Grade level: Not rated
    - Description: This is an ILO video about child labor around the world.
    - Distributor: International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC) Geneva, Switzerland office

12. *Zoned for Slavery: The Child Behind the Label*
    - Produced by: National Labor Committee, 1995
    - Length: 23 minutes
    - Grade level: Not rated
    - Description: "Meet the children who work in the sweatshops of Central America. See the armed guards at the factory's gate. Go inside and watch the young workers being searched to prevent them from bringing food to work. Talk to them about the deplorable conditions: low wages, forced birth control, work quotas, long hours and compulsory overtime, denial of an education. NLC's video reporters went with their cameras so that we could witness what should not be overlooked."
    - Reviews/Info: Available at <http://www.rethinkingschools.org/Archives/14_01/vid141.htm>
    - Distributor: The National Labor Committee

13. *The Story of Puttinan*
    - Directed by: Robbie Hart and Luc Côté.
    - Produced by: Adobe Foundations, 1994
    - Length: 26 minutes, Color, Closed Captioned
    - Grade level: Middle school/High school/Adult
    - Description: "A determined Thai girl has experienced the hardship of child labor. An episode in the 8-part series that explores whether there is such a thing as a global teenager. The series focuses on the lives of six teens in six different countries and examines the major issues facing young people everywhere." One questions what impact Western culture has on teen life. Study guide available. (ISBN: 1-56029-610-0)
    - Reviews/Info: Available at <http://www.bullfrogfilms.com/catalog/t166.html>
    - Distributor: Bullfrog Films

14. *Tomorrow We'll Finish*
    - Producer: UNICEF, 1994
    - Length: 26 minutes
    - Grade level: Not rated
    - Description: This video dramatizes the lives of three Nepalese girls in a rug factory in Kathmandu.

Reviews/Info: Available at <http://www.rethinkingschools.org/Archives/14_01/vid141.htm>
Distributor: UNICEF

15. *Shackled Children*
Produced by: International Labor Organization, 1993
Length: 50 minutes
Grade level: Not rated
Description: This video strings together several documentary stories about working children all over the world. Little overt editorial commentary, and some stories end on an inconclusive note. Stories include: bonded children making carpets in India; street vendors in Moscow; agricultural workers in the United States.
Distributor: ILO Washington Office

16. *Newsies*
Director: Kenny Ortega, 1992
Length: 125 minutes
Grade level: Not rated
Description: Newspaper boys, called "newsies," go on strike in turn-of-the-century New York. There is also a book with the same title, published by Disney Press, 1992. (ISBN 1-56282-115-6, 132 pages).
Distributor: Any major video retail store

17. ***When the Bough Breaks: Our Children, Our Environment***
Producer: Lawrence Moore and Robbie Stamp, 1990/1991
A Central/Observer Production in association with Television Trust for the Environment
Length: 52 minutes, Color (in two parts for classrooms)
Grade level: High school/Adult
Description: This video shows the human face of environmental destruction as it affects children worldwide. Includes a segment on how environmental destruction leads to poverty, which causes parents to have more children so that they can work and support the family. (ISBN: 1-56029-400-0)
Reviews/Info: Information available at <http://www.bullfrogfilms.com/catalog/when.html>
Distributor: Bullfrog Films

Other Video Resources:

- Labor and labor history videos
Some of these videos include background articles with information about African-American labor activist Philip Randolph; Mexican-American labor activist Cesar Chavez; international child labor; etc. For interlibrary loans, or other information about these videos, inquire at:

Media Resources Center
Moffitt Library
University of California at Berkeley
Tel: (510) 642-8197
Web site: <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/LaborVid.html#doc>

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- "Videos with a global conscience"
  Some of these videos are related to child labor and conditions that cause it. More information is available at:

  Rethinking Schools
  1001 East Keefe Avenue
  Milwaukee, WI 53212
  Tel: (800) 669-4192, (414)964-9646
  Fax: (414) 964-7220
  Email: webrs@execpc.com
  Web site: <http://www.rethinkingschools.org>

- Videos about children in the fields
  Videos produced by Association of Farmworker Opportunity Programs are available at:

  Association of Farmworker Opportunity Programs
  4350 North Fairfax Drive, Suite 410
  Arlington, VA 22203
  Tel: (703) 528-4141
  Fax: (703) 528-4145
  Email: afop@afop.org
  Web site: <http://www.afop.org>

- Television reports
  Many reports about child labor have been aired the past decade. Most simply introduce the topic and should not be used in the classroom without reference to written stories and updates on the topic covered by the TV report. These stories, however, can be useful ways to spark discussion. Contact local TV stations or the television archives at Vanderbilt University:

  Vanderbilt Television News Archive
  Vanderbilt University
  110 21st Avenue, South, Suite 704
  Nashville, TN 37203
  Tel: (615) 322-2927
  Fax: (615) 343-8250
  Email: tvnews@vanderbilt.edu
  Web site: <http://tvnews.vanderbilt.edu/>

- *Children of the Harvest*
  NBC's news show, Dateline, explored incidents of underage children working in the fields in the United States. Videos are no longer being distributed, but you can view the show online at: <http://www.msnbc.com/news/220115.asp?cp1=1>

- Child Labor Education and Action Videography
  A Burlington Station WCAX TV 3 interview (May 17, 2000), aired a news clip on the Brattleboro Union High School CLEA trip to Washington DC. The two-minute news clip shoes CLEA members being interviewed while attending the Department of Labor Conference on child labor. Also included is an interview with Representative Bernie Sanders (Independent, VT)

video resource list

- Films about children
  Films about children (for instance, children in Romania's orphanages) are available at:

  Documentary Educational Resources
  101 Morse Street
  Watertown, MA 01272
  Tel: (800) 569-6621 or (617) 926-0491
  Fax: (617) 926-9516
  Email: docued@der.org
  Web site: <http://www.xensei.com/docued/>

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video distributors

Most of the videos listed in the previous section are available for purchase or for rent from the following distributors.

American Federation of Teachers, International Affairs Department
555 New Jersey Ave., NW
Washington D.C. 20001-2079
Tel: (202) 879-4448
Fax: (202) 879-4502
Email: iadaft@aol.com
Web site: <http://www.aft.org/international/child/>

Association of Farmworker Opportunity Programs
4350 North Fairfax Drive, Suite 410
Arlington, VA 22203
Tel: (703) 528-4141
Fax: (703) 528-4145
Email: afop@afop.org
Web site: <http://www.afop.org>

Bullfrog Films
P.O. Box 149
Oley, PA 19547
Tel: (800) 543-FROG or (610) 779-8226
Fax: (610) 370-1978
Email: info@bullfrogfilms.com
Web site: <http://www.bullfrogfilms.com>

Documentary Educational Resources
101 Morse Street
Watertown, MA 01272
Tel: (800) 569-6621 or (617) 926-0491
Fax: (617) 926-9516
Email: docued@der.org
Web site: <http://www.xensei.com/docued/>

Filmaker's Library
124 East 40th Street
New York, NY 10016
Tel: (212) 808-4980
Fax: (212) 808-4983
Email: info@filmakers.com
Web site: <http://www.filmakers.com>

First Run/Icarus Films
32 Court Street, 21st floor
Brooklyn, NY 11201
Tel: (800) 876-1710 or (718) 488-8900
Fax: (718) 488-8642
Email: info@frif.com
Web site: <http://www.frif.com>

video distributors

International Labor Office (ILO) Washington Office
1828 L. St., NW #600
Washington, DC 20036
Tel: (202) 653-7652
Fax: (202) 653-7687
Email: washilo@ilowbo.org
Web site: <http://us.ilo.org>

International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC)
International Labor Office
Geneva, Switzerland
Tel: +41.22.799.8181
Fax: +41.22.799.8771
Email: ipec@ilo.org
Web site: <http://www.ilo.org>

Media Resources Center
Moffitt Library
University of California at Berkeley
Tel: (510) 642-8197
Web site: <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/LaborVid.html#doc>

National Labor Committee
275 Seventh Avenue, 15th Floor
New York, NY 10001
Tel: (212) 242-3002
Fax: (212) 242-3821
Email: nlc@nlcnet.org
Web site: <http://www.nlcnet.org/resource.htm>

Rethinking Schools
1001 East Keefe Avenue
Milwaukee, WI 53212
Tel: (800) 669-4192 or (414)964-9646
Fax: (414) 964-7220
Email: webrs@execpc.com
Web site: <http://www.rethinkingschools.org>

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
3 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
Tel: (212) 326-7000
Fax: (212) 887-7465 or (212) 887-7454
Email: netmaster@unicef.org
Web site: <http://www.unicef.org>

Vanderbilt Television News Archive
Vanderbilt University
110 21st Avenue, South, Suite 704
Nashville, TN 37203
Tel: (615) 322-2927
Fax: (615) 343-8250
Email: tvnews@vanderbilt.edu
Web site: <http://tvnews.vanderbilt.edu/>

video discussion questions

Videos are often a powerful way to bring issues "to life" for students. To gain as much benefit as possible from a video, be sure to allocate enough time for discussion and debriefing. Use the following questions as a guide.

What types of child labor are being depicted?
Why are these children working?
What do the children themselves think of their situations?
What are children's attitudes toward education?
What are their parents' attitudes toward education?
What types of schooling are available for these children?
What are some of the perspectives of child labor that are mentioned in the video? Do people always think it is a negative practice?
Who produced and/or directed the video?
Does the producer's or director's point of view create bias in the content and perspective in the video?
What are students' reactions to the children in the film?
What types of intervention are mentioned in the film?
From what students could tell, were any of these intervention strategies beneficial?
How have these children's ideas of their future been shaped by their current work situations?

suggested field trips

The American Labor Museum/Botto House National Landmark
83 Norwood Street
Haledon, NJ 07508
The Botto House, where immigrant silk mill workers lived, was a gathering place for strikers in 1913.
Tel: (973) 595-7953
Web site: <http://www.fieldtrip.com/nj/15957953.htm>

American Textile History Museum
491 Dutton Street
Lowell, MA
This museum features antique textile mill machines.
Tel: (978) 441-0400
Web site: <http://www.athm.org/sites/boston/bostonftp/athm/home.html>

The George Meany Memorial Archives
10000 New Hampshire Avenue
Silver Spring, MD 20903
This museum is the official archives of the AFL-CIO.
Tel: (301) 431-6400
Fax: (301) 434-0371
Email: info@georgemeany.org

The Labor Hall of Fame
United States Department of Labor
Frances Perkins Building Lobby
200 Constitution Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C.
This museum features exhibits and videos about labor leaders, labor secretaries, etc. Murals by Jack Beal tell the history of the American labor movement.
Web site: <http://www.dol.gov/dol/oasam/public/programs/laborhall/main.htm>

Tsongas Industrial History Center/Boott Cotton Mills Museum
Lowell National Historical Park
67 Kirk Street
Lowell, MA 01852
This hands-on facility allows visitors to see how "mill girls" lived. Visitors can also operate a turbine, design and "build" a canal system, and produce a documentary video about changes in an industrial city.
Tel: (978) 970-5080 or (978) 970-5000
Fax: (978) 970-5085
Web site: <http://www.uml.edu/Tsongas/>

Other Ideas:

Children have worked in many occupations, in all countries. Photographs of child labor are occasionally shown in galleries, museums, etc. Check local exhibition halls.

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General Information

American Federation of Teachers (AFT): Child Labor Project
<http://www.aft.org/international/child>

International Labor Organization (ILO)
<http://www.ilo.org>

ILO: Child Labor Home page
<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/comp/child/index.htm>

ILO: International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)
<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/index.htm>

ILO: Photos
<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/inf/album/index.htm>
Search by keywords for photos of child labor around the world.

International Labor Rights Fund (ILRF): Child Labor
<http://www.laborrights.org/projects/childlab/index.html>
An organization that encourages consumer awareness of child labor that occurs in the export manufacturing sector. Also works to promote passage of child labor legislation and has helped develop effective programs to fight child labor.

Labors of Love Project
<http://www.childlabor.org>
The Labors of Love web site posts lists of news stories, and book titles, with links when available. The site also lists information about what students and teachers are doing, or have done, to study child labor. The section "Education Resources" provides a detailed list of curriculum resources.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
<http://www.unicef.org>
UNICEF's home page has up-to-date information about activities on child labor as well as the related areas of education, health, nutrition. UNICEF's *The State of the World's Children Report, 1997*, concentrates on child labor and is available online at <http://www.unicef.org/sowc97/>

UNICEF: Voices of Youth
<http://www.unicef.org/voy>

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)
<http://www.unicef.org/crc/crc.htm>

University of Minnesota Human Rights Resource Center
<http://www.hrusa.org> or <http://www.umn.edu/humanrts/hrcenter.htm>
This organization is a clearinghouse for human rights education materials.

World Bank
<http://www.worldbank.org>
Research papers on child labor, available online.

internet resources

United States Laws and Programs

Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA)
<http://www.dol.gov/dol/esa/public/regs/statutes/whd/0002.fair.pdf>
U.S. law governing child labor, passed in 1938.

Migrant Education: Guide to Program Services in California
<http://www.cde.ca.gov/iasa/migrant2.html>

Child Labor Resource Guide
National Center for Research in Vocational Education, University of California, Berkeley
<http://vocserve.berkeley.edu/CenterFocus/CF8guide.html>
Search for child labor laws by state. Also provided is a list of labor officials for each state.

International Child Labor Program
U.S. Department of Labor (USDOL)/Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB)
<http://www.dol.gov/dol/ilab/public/programs/iclp/welcome.html>
See reports on child labor in United States imports and other child labor reports.

Child Labor: National Program of Action
USDOL: Protecting Kids.gov
<http://www.protectingkids.gov/programs/natl-programs_toc.htm>

Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)

Anti-Slavery International
<http://www.antislavery.org>
U.K.-based group that has been working against slavery since the 19th century.

Association of Farmworker Opportunity Programs
<http://www.afop.org>
Works to reduce child labor in agriculture. The Fair Labor Standards Act protects children in agriculture less than in other occupations, and AFOP is lobbying for changes in the FLSA to improve protections for children.

Child Labor Coalition (CLC)
<http://www.natlconsumersleague.org/aboutclc.htm>
A national network for the exchange of information about child labor. Also a forum and a unified voice on protecting working minors and ending child labor exploitation. Develops informational and educational outreach to the public and private sectors to combat child labor abuses and promote progressive initiatives and legislation.

Child Relief and You (CRY)
<http://www.cry.org>
Supports programs for children in India.

Child Rights Information Network
<http://www.crin.org>
A Switzerland-based membership-driven organization and network of over 1,000 child rights organizations around the world. It strives to improve the lives of children through the exchange of information about child rights and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Child Workers in Asia
<http://www.cwa.tnet.co.th>
A network of organizations working with child workers in Asia. Site includes articles by network members on a variety of topics (e.g., domestic workers; the Asian economic crisis and child labor; etc). Extensive bibliography of academic and other articles on child labor in Asian/Pacific countries.

Childwatch International Research Network
<http://www.childwatch.uio.no>
Norway-based network that conducts research at different levels, on various topics and with a variety of target groups.

Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers
<http://www.child-soldiers.org/front.html>

The Concerned for Working Children
<http://www.workingchild.org>
Works with working children in Karnataka, India, including Bhima Sangha, a union of working children.

Global Campaign for Education
<http://www.campaignforeducation.org>
A coalition working to increase access to education.

Global March Against Child Labor
<http://www.globalmarch.org>
Started by Kailash Satyarthi, an activist in India, to mobilize international opinion against child labor. The Global March is now part of the Global Campaign for Education.

Human Rights Watch
<http://www.hrw.org>
An international organization that produces independently researched reports on many human rights issues. Among many reports on child-related issues: In July 2000, HRW published a report on abusive child labor in U.S. agriculture.

Human Rights Watch: Stop the Use of Child Soldiers Campaign
<http://www.hrw.org/hrw/campaigns/crp/index.htm>

The International Labor Rights Fund
<http://www.laborrights.org>
The Washington, D.C.-based nonprofit action and advocacy organization uses new and creative means to encourage enforcement of international labor rights.

The M. Venkatarangaiya Foundation (MVF)
<http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/2419/indextb.html>
A nonprofit organization working in India to end child labor.

National Consumers League
<http://www.natlconsumersleague.org/childlab.htm>
The National Consumers League, founded in 1899, is America's pioneer consumer organization.

Rädda Barnen, Save the Children Sweden
<http://www.rb.se>
A Swedish organization that operates programs to help child laborers and conducts research.

internet resources

The Rugmark Foundation
<http://www.rugmark.org>
International campaign to eradicate child labor and supports education programs for former child workers. They use a labeling scheme to identify products made without child labor.

World Vision
<http://www.worldvision.org/worldvision/master.nsf>
International Christian humanitarian organization serving the world's poor and displaced by providing programs that help save lives, bring hope, and restore dignity. This assistance is provided without regard to people's religious beliefs, gender, or ethnic background.

NGOs Run by Children

Free the Children
<http://www.freethechildren.org>
Started in 1995 by Craig Kielburger, who was shocked when he heard about the death of Iqbal Masih, a Pakistani boy who had escaped from bonded labor and had become an activist against child labor. Masih was shot to death in Pakistan in 1995.

A Bullet Can't Kill a Dream
<http://www.mirrorimage.com/iqbal>
The students at Broad Meadows Middle School in Quincy, MA, had met Iqbal Masih in 1994, and were shocked when a few months later the Pakistani boy was shot to death near his home village. The Quincy school kids' started a Web site about child labor through which they raised money for a school in Pakistan.

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